



Daily Report

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CONTENTS

16 June 1989

ALBANIA

Article Analyzes 'Grave' Yugoslav Crisis [Prela in RRUGA E PARTISE May]	1
People's Assembly Permanent Commissions Meet [ATA]	5
Further on People's Assembly [ATA]	5
Alia Speaks to Shkoder Democratic Front [ZERI I POPULLIT 10 Jun]	5

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Discusses Turkish Issue With Canadian [BTA]	8
Zhivkov Receives Turkish Ambassador on Departure [Sofia Radio]	8
Decree on Solving Manpower Problems Examined [Stoev in OTECHESTVEN FRONT 12 Jun]	8
Press Discusses Regional Manpower Shortages	9
Plant Workers on 'Morbid Psychosis' of Muslims [ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME 14 Jun]	11
Call for Patriotic Efforts To Collect Harvest [NARODNA MLADEZH 14 Jun]	11
Enterprises Advised To Fulfill State Orders [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 14 Jun]	12
BTA on Papandreou Remarks on Bulgaria, Turkey	13
Zhivkov Receives Iranian Petroleum Minister [BTA]	13
Atanasov Receives Iranian [BTA]	14
Todorov Talks With Iranian Parliamentarians [BTA]	14
Todorov Confers With Canadian Senate Speaker [BTA]	14
Todorov Meets Finnish Parliamentary Delegation [BTA]	14
Economic Delegation Pays Visit to United States [BTA]	15
Commentary Examines Position on CSCE Accords [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Jun]	15
Meeting of Agrarian, Democratic Parties Ends [BTA]	16
Decrees Published on Creation of Oblast Units [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 13 Jun]	16
Daily Discusses Efficacy of Anonymous Letters [Gotev in RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Jun]	17

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Further on CPCZ Central Committee Session	19
15 Jun Agenda Outlined [CTK]	19
Hanus Addresses Commission [CTK]	19
Session Discusses Cadre Proposals [Prague Radio]	19
Jakes Closing Address [Prague Radio]	20
Discussion at Session Summarized [Prague Radio]	21
Siroky Holds News Conference [CTK]	22
Events in China Termed 'Internal Affair' [Divis in RUDE PRAVO 14 Jun]	22
Sadovsky Meets Austrian Ministry Official [CTK]	24

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Positive Assessment of Gorbachev FRG Visit [ADN]	25
Automation Technology Contracts With USSR [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 3-4 Jun]	25
Honecker To Meet West Berlin Mayor 19 Jun [ADN]	25
Citizens Give Property to State for Exit Visa [Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG 11 Jun]	25
Honecker Attends Pedagogical Congress Openings [ADN]	25
Mittag Conducts Talks With BCP's Filipov [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Jun]	26
Hager Meets With PZPR Study Delegation [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Jun]	26
Cultural, Scientific Cooperation With Hungary [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 31 May]	26
Sindermann Receives Afghan Parliamentarians [ADN]	26
Kessler Says International Situation Complicated [ADN]	27
Kessler Receives Cuban Military Delegation [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Jun]	27
Goetting Meets Visiting Nicaraguan Politicians [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Jun]	27

Legal Aid Treaty Ratified With Finland	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 31 May]	28
Deputy Defense Minister Visits Sweden	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 6 Jun]	28
Kessler Meets DPRK's O Chin-u, Delegation	[Pyongyang Radio]	28
Cambodian Official Visits National Front	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 6 Jun]	29
Fischer Welcomes Tunisian Counterpart on Visit	[ADN]	29
Relations 'Developing Positively'	[ADN]	29
Security Forces Detain Peace Demonstrators	[Hamburg DPA]	29
People's Chamber Session Convened for 1 Sep	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Jun]	30
'Agent' of 'Criminal' Fuerch Gang Sentenced	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 3-4 Jun]	30
Fewer Transit Travelers Rejected at Borders	[Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 13 Jun]	30
SPD Official Concludes Talks With Delegation	[ADN]	30
State Council Ratifies Oder Bight Treaty	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 9 Jun]	32
Poland Exchanges Sea Border Treaty Documents	[ADN]	32
Krolkowski Speaks at Agriculture Seminar	[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Jun]	32
Farmers Addressed After 'Agra 89' Walkabout	[ADN]	33
Scientist on New Approach to Conservatives		
[Loelhoeff in Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 14 Jun]		33

HUNGARY

Imre Nagy Funeral Ceremony Begins in Capital	[MTI]	34
Justice Committee News Briefing on Nagy Funeral	[MTI]	34
Horn on Historical Research of 1956 Events	[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Jun]	34
Demonstrators Urge Soviet Troop Withdrawal	[Budapest Radio]	35
Spokesman Comments on Status of Workers' Guard	[Budapest TV]	36
Interior Minister Views New Election Bill	[NEPSZABADSAG 9 Jun]	36
Article Comments on Romanian Debt Repayment	[MAGYAR HIRLAP 7 Jun]	37
Danish Parliamentary Delegation Ends Visit	[MTI]	38
Consumer Price Statistics Published	[MTI]	38

POLAND

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Begins in South	[PAP]	39
Commentary Lauds Gorbachev's Soviet Congress	[Debski in TRYBUNA LUDU 12 Jun]	39
Students Demonstrate Against PRC in Wroclaw	[AFP]	39
Further on French Leader's Official Visit		39
Mitterrand Meets Lech Walesa	[Warsaw Radio]	39
Walesa Holds News Conference	[PAP]	40
Rakowski Meets With Wroclaw Party Aktiv	[Warsaw Radio]	40
Discusses Elections	[Warsaw TV]	40
Rakowski Announces Election Non-Participation	[TRYBUNA LUDU 13 Jun]	44
Solidarity's Michnik Previews Round of Elections	[PAP]	44
LE FIGARO Interviews Wojciech Jaruzelski	[14 Jun]	44

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Continues Visiting Farm Units	[AGERPRES]	47
Anniversary of Romanian-Soviet Relations Marked	[AGERPRES]	47
MSZMP Marxist Unity Platform Opinions Noted	[SCINTEIA 11 Jun]	48
Officials Lay Wreaths at Poet's Tomb	[AGERPRES]	48
Development of Bucharest City Reviewed	[AGERPRES]	49
Harmonious Socioeconomic Development Viewed	[AGERPRES]	50
Development on Nonconventional Energy Sources	[AGERPRES]	51

YUGOSLAVIA

Vojvodina Agricultural Workers To Protest 20 Jun	[Belgrade Radio]	52
Kosovo Youth Attacks Slovenia, President Resigns	[Ljubljana Radio]	52
More on Greganovic Resignation	[Belgrade Radio]	52
Drnovsek Says Isolation To 'Cease Very Soon'	[BORBA 12 Jun]	53
Pancevski Chairs LCY Central Committee Session	[TANJUG]	53

Commission Urges Amendments to LCY Statute [TANJUG]	53
Markovic Receives Delegation of Corinthians [TANJUG]	54
Assembly Discusses Government Economic Policy [TANJUG]	54
Federal Chamber Discusses Economy, Other Issues	55
Supports 1989 Economic Policy [TANJUG]	55
Bans New Nuclear Plants [TANJUG]	55
Economic Relations Secretary Horvat Visits GDR [POLITIKA 13 Jun]	56
Maksic on Relations With Neighbor Countries [TANJUG]	56
Bosnia Nominates Five for Federal Presidency [BORBA 13 Jun]	56
'Solidarity Fund' Founder Bogavac Interviewed [BORBA 9 Jun]	57
BORBA Interviews Dissident Milovan Djilas	57
Poll on Anti-Inflationary Measures Published [BORBA 22 May]	58
BORBA Poll on Restructuring of Economy [5 Jun]	60

Article Analyzes 'Grave' Yugoslav Crisis
AU0706084189 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE
in Albanian No 5 May 89 p 73-81

[Vladimir Prela article: "Yugoslavia at the Crossroads of Crisis"]

[Text] Nationalism, separatism, and national hatred "are poisoning the general political atmosphere.... Political pressures have assumed such proportions that there is no sense of responsibility for the country's future...." This is a passage from one of the statements of the SFRY Presidency on the situation in the country, which have recently been issued one after another. However, descriptions of the chaos into which this neighboring country has been plunged have been extremely diverse. They come from both within and beyond the federation, and depend on the point of view of those who produce them, but nevertheless all reach the conclusion that this multinational country, once so much vaunted by bourgeois propaganda as "a model of workers' self-management," has now become a model of failure, a dusty icon, its gilt halo utterly worn away.

Yugoslav-style socialism has led to unimaginable economic, political, and ideological confusion and chaos, meager development unequally distributed among the republics and provinces, major social and class differences, chauvinist passions, national quarrels, rivalry, and oppression, and has caused a profound degeneration of spiritual life. In reality, the Yugoslav crisis is all-enveloping and total, and at its nadir offers not merely grim, but unimaginable prospects.

Galloping Inflation

The complex situation in Yugoslavia, and especially the dangerous political tendencies that have recently become evident in this country and which involve many repercussions, inevitably prompts the questions of how it came about, of who is to blame, and where the road to overcome the situation might be found.

When one views Yugoslav reality in all its complexity, the economic crisis emerges as an essential element in the general crisis. The self-management system, a hybrid of all the worst evils of capitalism, has year by year paved the way for such a breakdown, and has now brought the economy to a most critical state, with galloping inflation, high debts, the surrender of the country's autonomy in deciding economic and development policy, and an ever-increasing disorder in the economy, which shows no clear sign of ever possibly becoming efficient.

The Drastic Rise in Debts

The impossibility of clearing the debts which ensnare all concerned are another obstacle to economic betterment. In essence, the reasons for Yugoslavia resorting to debts lie in the failure of the economic policies of self-management. The years 1970-1979 were in particular marked by

a devil-may-care credit binge. Thus, Yugoslavia bought industrial equipment from Western capitalist countries on large hard currency loans, cherishing hopes that the country might thereby become able to sell finished goods to the EEC and developing countries. Thus, while hoping for increased exports, they also hoped to reduce the mountain of debts. The idea of the Yugoslav economic politicians was to copy industrially developed Western countries, who finance their voluminous imports of oil and raw materials through their surpluses from the export of chemical products, machinery, light industrial products, and automobiles. However, hard-currency markets remain closed to Yugoslav industrial products.

Worse still, the economic system itself, corruption, and interethnic rivalry led Yugoslavia to spend billions, in most cases obtained in the form of loans from abroad, on useless showpieces or on enterprises that have meanwhile either gone utterly bankrupt, or have never even been able to start production because they were planned on the basis of a lender's offer of a loan, and not according to the country's real needs.

There are many examples. Sugar refineries were built whose capacities were almost double the agricultural sugar beet production. There are about 105 knitwear factories in Yugoslavia, although most of them were opened at a time when it had long become clear that their products would not be sold.

An aluminum combine was built at Obravac in Croatia, because geologists suspected that there were bauxite reserves in those parts. After the combine had been built, it turned out that the research study had been in error. The chairman of the finance branch of this combine admits that the labor force and construction equipment for this combine was largely used to build luxurious villas for high officials on the Adriatic island of Pag.

A potato processing plant in Bosnia and Hercegovina with credit from the World Bank went into billions of dinars of debt, and is not even able to pay the interest on its principal because it is working at a mere 40 percent of its capacity. The reason—shortage of raw materials, i.e. potatoes.

In Babusnica in Serbia, the local authorities obtained on credit machinery for a brickworks, but this machinery proved unsuitable for the local clay. In Macedonia, the gigantic Feni ferronickel combine ran through \$2 billion, but its doors remain closed because there are no suitable mineral resources for it to process.

Two years ago, the Crvena Zastava automobile plant in Kragujevac in Serbia, that produces under license from Fiat, decided to market a new model of car in the United States. There has not been much word of this recently, and it appears that this will be another miscarriage on an enormous scale.

We cite these facts to emphasize that the roots of Yugoslavia's present dreadful financial situation lie in the drastic rise in foreign debt. The following table shows this best:

Foreign Debts (in \$ billion)

1970	1973	1975	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1983	1988
2.2	4.0	5.75	8.50	10.75	13.75	17.25	18.25	21.0	22.0

As can be seen, whereas Yugoslavia's foreign debt was \$2.2 billion dollars in 1970, it rose to more than \$17 billion during the following 10 years. This also entailed higher interest payments, and these have now become a further heavy burden for the Yugoslav economy. In order to meet the annual debt repayment schedule, the country must pay 10 percent of its social product, which must grow by 10 percent a year, while the general growth of the social product during the eighties has fluctuated between 0.4-0.6 percent. Such measures that have been taken, including a reduction of about 10 percent in general consumption, the earning of hard currency from migrant workers and tourism, increased exports and imports with both West and East, measures relating to foreign currency, and higher interest rates for hard currency on deposit, have merely achieved a degree of alleviation that might be called the sole positive result of the efforts to surmount the crisis. But there was talk about this only until 1986. It has been forgotten since, because it has been obvious to everybody that this improvement was artificial and temporary.

Continually Falling Living Standards

Meanwhile, industrial production has fallen by 1 percent, the real working day lasts on average no more than 3 hours and 6 minutes, and machinery works at only 60 percent of its capacity. As a result of low wages, the devaluation of the currency, and rising prices, living standards in Yugoslavia have fallen to the level of the sixties. Almost one-half of all families live under the poverty line. It is not an immediately obvious form of poverty, the German press writes. You can find everything in the shops: In the pedestrian zones of the old town of Belgrade, there is perfume from Paris (more than \$50 a bottle) and imported meat from Scotland (\$35). JUGOEXPORT can offer you a bridal gown for 50,000 dinars. Not even the sales assistant herself knows who is able to buy such a thing, for a textile worker in Slovenia would have to work 2 whole months for it, and a worker in Macedonia, where wages are lower, 3 additional months.

Hundreds of luxurious yachts and motorboats rock in the harbors of the Adriatic. Not one of them could be bought in the West for less than 100,000 marks, and their owners are Yugoslavs. "Nobody asks in public who has that sort of money or how he comes by it," the foreign press writes. However, there is real poverty behind the doors of houses. The Yugoslav press writes that the

salaries of even those in work are inadequate to support a family. Meanwhile, unemployment is officially 1.3 million, and if the decision to close loss-making enterprises is enforced, a further 2.5 million surplus workers will become redundant, which means more than 50 percent. [sentence as published]

However, the average figures on low pay, high prices, and falling living standards, however grim, blur the differences among the republics and provinces, such as the gulf between a worker in Kosovo and his colleague in Slovenia. Viewed from this angle, the situation in Kosovo is catastrophic. There are more than 60,000 families with no member employed, while unemployment in the province is three times greater than the Yugoslav average. The press writes that more than 50 percent of the able-bodied labor force have no prospects whatsoever, apart from taking the road of emigration in order to sell their manual labor. Incomes per head in this province are the lowest in the federation, or 40 percent below the national average.

A Dark Tunnel Without a Ray of Light

Bearing in mind such a situation, it is no wonder that people's work morale is falling even further, that millions of working days are lost every year, and that strikes for economic reasons are increasing. Prospects are grim, and Yugoslav specialists describe the crisis as a long, dark tunnel without a single ray of light. In 1984, it was calculated that next year would see a rise in living standards, but it is now clear that there is no real foundation for such hope.

Since 1983, when a much-publicized long-term program for economic stabilization was drawn up, laying down stages for this famous stabilization, many other plans have been presented, but without any particular success. The fact is that at the end of last year a Yugoslav Government tendered its resignation for the first time since the war, for it had no option but to admit its failure. The new team led by Markovic has now come up with a range of promises of improvements in the economy. However, we are so far dealing with maneuvers of a propagandistic nature, to create the best possible impression among the masses, and to appease their discontent at least to some degree. If we look at the new Government's statements to the press, it turns out that the new program has in fact not yet been clearly defined, and relies more on guidelines established by the IMF, which involve stronger ties between the Yugoslav economy and world markets, particularly those of the United States and Western Europe, at the cost of Yugoslavia reverting to a virtual appendage to these markets. Creditors have dictated the need for priority to be given to production for export, thus destabilizing the relationship between demand and supply on the domestic market, and paving the way to the free play of prices in the market and to inflation. The total imposition of the parameters of a market economy, and the almost unconditional transformation of Yugoslavia into an appendage

of the economic mechanism of powerful capitalist countries, has now become an irreversible goal of the Yugoslav leadership. The aim is now to point the Yugoslav economy more firmly not only towards markets for goods, but also toward capital, labor, security, and hard currency markets. It is thus the intention to liberalize prices even further. The Yugoslav press writes that one of the most important measures is "the liberalization, at the end of April, of imports that are necessary to increase exports to hard currency markets, the elimination of import quotas of equipment and semifinished products for private businesses, and the use of hard currency in citizens' bank accounts." Meanwhile, the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG reports that the Government's stand regarding the market and reforms is the foundation of its platform for talks with an IMF delegation. The new law on enterprises, the main reform document which the Yugoslav Assembly will approve at the end of July, will reduce to a minimum state influence on the operation and success or failure of firms. The cost of these reforms will be a further growth in unemployment, greater social insecurity, and a further tightening of the labor market, which will indisputably lead to greater class bitterness in Yugoslav society.

Milosevic's Divisive and Oppressive Mission

The 9 years since the outbreak of the general crisis in Yugoslavia have also witnessed an exacerbation of the country's political situation. This has involved the powerful eruption onto the political battlefield of all the problems that the self-management system had contained by force. Until 1985, discussion of the Yugoslav political system, i.e. the self-management system, had been theoretical. It had begun with academic discussions of trends within the Yugoslav federation, on the functioning of its institutions, and then promptly crystallized into two classically contradictory currents within the bosom of the League of Communists [LC] itself, that began to manifest themselves openly and strongly in all party activities. The acrimonious debates among representatives of the republics and autonomous provinces, levelled harsh and forthright criticism against the political system, against "intolerable" social changes, and against the privileges enjoyed by the new bourgeoisie and the federal and republican bureaucracies. The irresponsibility, incompetence, and bureaucracy of the leaders were condemned.

This battle, although it was waged in terms of a struggle for narrow national interests, genuinely roused the masses of the people and provoked major discontent at their hopeless situation, which found expression in countless strikes. However, this dissatisfaction was quickly manipulated, given a nationalist hue, and inflamed with chauvinist passions. Once again, national hatred was revived in Yugoslavia, with all its consequences.

The main factor in the deterioration of the political situation in Yugoslavia was the revanchism of the leadership of Serbia headed by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Serbian LC. On his assumption of the leadership of this republic, the Serbian

leadership appeared undisguisedly on the Yugoslav stage with the mission of undermining and dividing Yugoslav public opinion. Demonstrations in the streets became a form of pressure on the peoples of Yugoslavia and a way of maintaining the strategy of tension for as long as possible, in order to justify any kind of act and still more in order to claim that "the people's will" was being carried out.

The publication in October 1986 of a memorandum by the Serbian Academy of Sciences entitled "On Today's Economic and Social Crisis in Yugoslavia" gave a significant impulse to the strengthening and deepening of the Serbian campaign against the basis of the Yugoslav federation and all the policies pursued until then. The memorandum is the manifesto of Serbian chauvinism for Yugoslavia's reversion to the days of the Karadjordjevic monarchy. Making use of a great mass of arguments for the parlous situation and the general crisis that has enveloped modern Yugoslavia, the spokesmen of Serbian academic thinking once again thrust before the federation old theories about the hegemonism of the largest republic of this multiethnic state. The conclusion of this memorandum was that the present-day Yugoslav system, especially the 1974 Constitution, is unsuitable and must be scrapped. The first step was to be the abolition of the autonomy of the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, and their total absorption under Serbian domination. Although first seen as the product of a handful of Great Serbian chauvinists, scarcely a year passed before the theories of the memorandum became the platform for action by the Serbian leadership, who hastened to use every means to carry it out. Under pressure from chauvinist masses orchestrated to perfection, the assault began to force the leaderships of all the republics and provinces to tender their resignations and submit to Serbian demands. Under such pressure, the Vojvodina leadership fell, followed by the Montenegrin, and in the end tanks were brought in to compel the Albanian people to return again to the conditions of the time of Rankovic.

How Far Will Serbian Chauvinism Go?

Typical of the situation in Yugoslavia is the state of siege and military rule in Kosovo, with dozens of dead, thousands jailed, and a real political, constitutional, cultural, and democratic lynching of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia. If one pauses to study current Serbian measures in Kosovo, one draws the conclusion that every aspect of what they are doing has its place in the blackest tradition of Great Serbian expansionism and chauvinism, and is a realization of the old dream conceived by ghastly theoreticians of the Cubrilovic type. Their historical arguments, demographic manipulation, and population movements testify not only to irremediable anti-Albanianism, but expansionist aims. The current situation becomes very clear if one considers everything that has happened in Kosovo this century, the attempts to skew the Kosovo "blood test" in favor of the Slav element through genocide, colonization, and emigration.

Before World War II, the Serbian academician V. Cubrilovic, who is now once again highly regarded, harshly condemned the incompetence of the government of the time in carrying out its program of colonizing Kosovo with a Serbian population and at the same time expelling the Albanians to Albania and throughout Europe. In 1944, immediately after the liberation, this same academician drew up a second plan proposing the emigration of the Albanians, "so that the new Yugoslavia will be rid of the old problem of the violent highlanders." The culminating events of the Serbian genocide against the Albanians in the new Yugoslavia are familiar. It began in 1945 and continued after 1948, when thousands were killed, imprisoned, tortured, and evicted from their age-old hearths. Peaceful demonstrators shed their blood again in 1981, and then came the events of this March, which once again ushered in a dark and hopeless period for the Albanians.

Now there is nothing left for the Albanians but "differentiation," which means either to bow your head and deny your identity, or to go to jail. The Albanians are prevented from expressing not only their collective, but their personal opinions about what is happening in Kosovo and Yugoslavia as a whole. The national, political, and democratic rights that the Albanians won in their national liberation struggle, together with the other peoples of Yugoslavia, are now totally denied them. Now they are denied their autonomy, their unconditional right to use their mother tongue, the right to elect to state bodies the people whom they want to represent them, and therefore the right to equality with all the other peoples of the federation.

The Yugoslav press discusses the situation in the country at great length, how to "solve" the Kosovo problem, and particularly the views of Serbia on the issues of the day. The unitarist and centralist formulae that Serbia offers for a solution to Yugoslavia's crisis are arousing great concern among Yugoslav public opinion. It is impossible to overlook the fact that the Serbian leadership and their press, immediately after abolishing Kosovo's autonomy, embarked on their campaign to thoroughly change the 1974 Constitution, and as soon as possible at that. Still less can one overlook the fact that such organizers of demonstrations in Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Montenegro as Solevic have planned and refuse to abandon Serbian demonstrations in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Sarajevo, similar to those that toppled the leaderships in Novi Sad and Titograd, in order to bring down the "bureaucratized" leaderships that oppose Serbia.

Where today's Yugoslavia will go is a question that is hard to answer. This is not only because of the parlous state in which the country finds itself, but because of the many changes that are taking place at present and that involve economic, political, party, and even constitutional issues. But one thing can be said for sure. The only option for the multinational Yugoslav federation is the path of equality for everybody.

The events in Yugoslavia, the elimination of the national rights of one people by another through the brazen use of violence, and the efforts to demolish the federal structure of the state in order to install a dictatorship of the largest nationality, have aroused concern and indignation among Balkan and European public opinion. This is especially true in the Balkans, where the revival of nationalism will inevitably bring repercussions and exert a deleterious influence on the fragile process of rapprochement among the Balkan countries that began with the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states.

Balkan history leads one to the just conclusion that these first steps toward cooperation among the peoples of the region are reinforcing the conviction that peace, stability, and good neighborliness are the only solution acceptable to the Balkan peoples. But this conviction must be built upon firm foundations, which can only be freedom, independence, and mutual respect. Otherwise, following the path of oppression and social and national exploitation and artificially exacerbating inter-state relations makes a demagogic mockery of all these promises of peace, respect for the rights of the peoples, and relations of good neighborliness.

On the basis of these principles, one cannot fail to observe that the Albanian people's defense of the national rights of their brothers who live in Yugoslavia is one of the most elementary rights under international justice and is in accordance with the rules governing relations between states. As such, it cannot be a reason to embitter inter-state relations, or, still worse, a pretext for threats and allusions to other acts that violate the national sovereignty of others, as certain circles in Yugoslavia are saying.

The Roots of the Crisis Are Within Yugoslavia

The present situation in Yugoslavia presents a range of problems which reflect on the internal situation and also influence the atmosphere of inter-state relations in the region, as well as beyond. It is a fact that in Yugoslavia today forces convinced that the roots of the crisis lie within Yugoslavia itself are ever on the increase. The solution must also therefore be found within Yugoslavia, in the serious economic, political, national crisis that has divided Yugoslavia into two parts. The course of events has now dispelled all illusions, leaving behind a bitter reality of growing poverty and unemployment, galloping inflation, undischargable debts, the total absence of any clear prospects, and therefore the total absence of the means and strength to find a path of rescue.

Therefore, the Albanian people, like all the other peoples of the Balkans, cannot fail to view with concern this situation that is so extremely grave and perilous, not only for the peoples of Yugoslavia, but for peace and security in the region.

People's Assembly Permanent Commissions Meet
AU1406132089 Tirana ATA in English
0740 GMT 14 Jun 89

[“Permanent Commissions Prepare for the Forthcoming Session of the People's Assembly”—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 14 (ATA)—It is for several days that preparations are going on for the 5th Session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly, scheduled to hold its proceedings soon.

In this context, the Permanent Commissions on Education-Culture, Construction-Communication-PTT [Post, Telegraph, and Telecommunications], Agriculture, Industry, Plan-Budget, and Trade convened. They delved into the materials to be put forth at the plenary sitting of the People's Assembly, regarding the problems of further strengthening the prophylaxis and health service, discussed and made suggestions on them. On the basis of reports by the respective ministers, they also examined other problems of their activity.

The deputies discussed the most important problems in the fields of education, health service, construction, and transport, particularly the development of town planning and constructions in the countryside, the fulfillment of tasks by industry, etc. They estimated the work and achievements over this period to fulfill all the tasks.

Valuable opinions were given at the meeting regarding the complete fulfillment of the important tasks set by the party in its latest plenums to see to the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and triumph of the people's revolution with as many achievements as possible.

Further on People's Assembly
AU1506115989 Tirana ATA in English
0630 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Tirana, June 15 (ATA)—In continuation of the preparations for the 5th Session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly, the Permanent Commission of Health-Public Service convened on June 14.

This meeting was attended by Comrade Rita Marko, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly.

Ahmet Kamberi, minister of health, briefed and gave explanations to the deputies on some problems to further enhance the quality of health service, to intensify the measures to strengthen prophylaxis, medical care for mother and child, the protection of environment from pollution, the training and qualification of cadres, etc. Whereas the minister of public economy, Xhemal Tafaj, briefed on the work done in the public services to constantly improve the hygiene, to prettify and flourish cities, dwelling centers, etc.

At these meetings it was examined and endorsed the report of the Commission, scheduled to be held at the forthcoming session of the People's Assembly.

After analysing the six-month activity of the Commission and defining the tasks for the future, the deputies were briefed on how the respective state organs have examined and solved the problems raised by them.

Likewise the Judicial Permanent Commission convened. It examined the activity of this Commission for the period between the two sessions of the People's Assembly.

Alia Speaks to Shkoder Democratic Front
AU1506202389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 10 Jun 89 p 1, 2

[“From the Speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia,” Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at Shkoder District Democratic Front Conference on 9 June: “The Front Organization, A School for Exercising Mass Democracy”]

[Text] After expressing his pleasure at taking part in this conference, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: I always enjoy coming to Shkoder to meet working people, these people who are so outstanding for their patriotism, culture, and their creative and practical spirit, who have devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the country's socialist construction, following the party line and Comrade Enver Hoxha's achievements. On this occasion, he went on, on behalf of the party Central Committee and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, I greet you and wish you fresh successes in this year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland.

Summing up the conference's proceedings, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that it had, in general, attained the goals it had set itself. It had concentrated, in a healthy spirit, on discussing ways to enhance the role and authority of the front and the effectiveness of its educational and mobilizing work, and of raising the standard of the general activity of this militant organization to the point demanded by the current stage of developments taking place in the country.

Further on, Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke about the political role of the front organization in the life of our society, and on some current and future tasks confronting it in its work of making this role one of greater prominence. He dwelt especially on the dialectic relations that exist and operate between working people's education and the results of their work in production and elsewhere. The experience of history, he pointed out, shows that the vigor of the people's education and unity, especially of the younger generation, is reflected in daily social activity, especially in the economy. Sound education, carried out in the appropriate way, liberates fresh creative energies among the working people, just as the dynamic development of the economy and the fulfillment of people's legitimate and essential needs pave the

way for revolutionary education, creating organic ties between words and deeds, and between the party line and its practical implementation.

This principle, Comrade Ramiz Alia instructed, must be acted on consistently throughout the country, in every branch of the economy and in every unit of its organization. This is above all necessary in large towns and districts, where there is the broadest support for our developments on the road of socialism.

Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to point out the successes that have been attained in carrying out plans, and the high level of mass mobilization to record worthy results in anticipation of the great November jubilee. He hailed the revolutionary initiatives of the working people that are being circulated in advance of this jubilee, and the inspiring achievements of vanguard branches of the economy, such as mining, the chemical and food industries, construction, and so forth. Significant growth, he pointed out, was recorded in foreign trade.

Comrade Ramiz Alia then dwelt on some economic and social problems that call for the attention of party and mass organizations in the Shkoder District. This district, he said, occupies fourth place in the Republic in population and third in agricultural production, fifth in industrial production, and first in electricity production. The party, the front, and the other mass organizations therefore have major and increasing tasks.

Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that, under present conditions, two general problems must be borne in mind when we consider the tie between education and the development of the economy: increasing the effectiveness of the social product, and supplying the people with consumer goods.

It is a pleasure to see that plans are in general being fulfilled in your district and that now, on the threshold of the Front Congress, development rates are higher. In the first 5 months of this year, compared with the same period last year, industrial output rose by nearly 4.5 percent, budget incomes by 3.4 percent, and exports by about 40 percent. Important increases have been recorded in some important industrial products, in retail goods turnover, in milk production, especially from the small herds, and so on. However, these achievements must be set against the great opportunities that are evident everywhere.

Securing effectiveness means working with strict accountability in order to reduce production, construction, and maintenance costs. Shkoder District has had encouraging experience in this field. The tobacco and cigarette factory here in Shkoder has provided an interesting example of rational organization and saving, which has been described in our press. By struggling to impose order and to increase responsibility in the movement

and consumption of materials, quotas of raw material use have been significantly reduced, and new opportunities have been found for additional production and accumulation.

Economic effectiveness demands a speedy turnover in goods. All obstacles to their movement mean that important economic resources are blocked and frittered away at different stages of production and construction. It seems that work is going well at the cableway works, but, if 62 cableway units languish in its depot for months on end, and go up to 1 year without being delivered, this means not only that work in agriculture is hindered, but that in practice all the value that has gone into their production, including the metal, wages, and other expenditure, is withdrawn from economic circulation.

Comrade Ramiz Alia then dwelt on the development of agriculture and its problems. Data show that between 1986-1988, he said, the annual agricultural production in Shkoder District per head of population did not rise above that achieved in the seventh 5-year period (1981-1985), at a time when the purchasing power of working people rose at a normal rate. However, the main point is that the real opportunities that exist in Shkoder District for fast growth in agricultural production were largely lost.

In this context, Comrade Ramiz Alia mentioned corn. Relatively good productivity, he said, has been obtained in this crop, about 55 quintals per hectare, but a higher performance is possible, because the district has adequate irrigation capacities. Under these conditions, an all-out corn campaign must be waged, particularly on the Nenshkoder plain, with the aim of obtaining an average yield of 90-100 quintals per hectare, through a wider use of fertilizer and by exploiting other vital factors.

In his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia also covered the question of the role of the front in preserving the purity of socialist moral values and instilling them into the working masses. These values, he said, are among our most precious assets, a real spiritual treasure passed from generation to generation. During the epoch of the party, they have revived and have been further enriched, and are now the property of the broad working masses. A moral and political character emerges in all the activity, thinking, awareness, and skills of the individual, and embodies the example of the communist as an active and militant patriot.

Socialism, Comrade Ramiz underlined, relies on advanced people, on people of labor and sacrifice, with noble character traits. These values must therefore not be sullied. The disparagement of true human values and the encouragement, in their place, of vices and attitudes of a petit bourgeois nature, is a disease that damages our social fabric.

In our country, socialism gives everyone what he deserves. However, there are people who are not content with what belongs to them. They exert pressure to take

from society more than they contribute to it, even in illegal and dishonest ways. In order to have an easy life and to idle at the expense of society, they support twisted views, and praise vices and antisocialist attitudes. These are not the attitudes of the front—the front that unites people in the cause of socialism. Our organization must not allow its members to fall prey to such influences.

Our society has created all the necessary conditions to enable people, wherever they are, to live honest and dignified lives through their toil. Albania is being built and is making progress without stretching out its palm to anybody. The right to work, socialist equality, and a prosperous and democratic life are the basic conditions people need in order to steer clear of undesirable activities of an antisocialist nature, and to show their strength of character, sound upbringing, and political and intellectual maturity under all circumstances.

Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on some aspects of the international situation. He condemned, among other things, the use of violence by the Yugoslav authorities toward the Albanians in Kosovo, and the deaths and mass imprisonments among them. The imposition of a

state of emergency and military rule, and the state terror waged against Albanian young people and intellectuals for the sole crime of speaking and writing quite legally in defense of their constitutional rights, not only testifies to an anti-Albanian chauvinist attitude, but also reflects the degeneration of the political and social order in Yugoslavia. The same phenomenon, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, is evident today even in the Soviet Union and China, where the "reformed order" is revealing its repressive and antidemocratic nature through the bloody use of the force of arms.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: Our front of struggle and socialist labor has marched and will march on the road of victory, because it is the front created by the party and Enver Hoxha in the thick of battle, and tempered in the fresh struggles for socialist construction. The party is convinced that in this year of the 45th anniversary of the liberation, the Democratic Front of Albania and its organizations in Shkoder and elsewhere in Albania will perform fruitful work of education and mobilization in the bosom of the people, and will hurl the people more vigorously into the work of construction to make our socialist victories ever greater.

Zhivkov Discusses Turkish Issue With Canadian
AU1506152889 Sofia BTA in English
1441 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 15 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, and Mr Guy Charbonneau, speaker of the Senate of Canada, had a meeting today at which they openly exchanged views on matters of bilateral relations and problems of the present international situation.

The Bulgarian state leader informed the guest about the processes of innovation in all spheres of social life in Bulgaria, stressing the changes in economy which find their expression in the company-based organization of industry and agriculture. He mentioned some new projects connected with the introduction of a joint-stock form of economic activity which will no doubt contribute to the activation of cooperation with Western companies, including Canadian ones. The Bulgarian state leader said that on this basis new ways for making use of the potentials of Bulgaro-Canadian relations should be sought for.

Mr Todor Zhivkov also spoke about Bulgaria's peaceful policy, her efforts aimed at strengthening peace, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and all over the world, about the new political thinking in international relations.

The Bulgarian state leader pointed out that it is necessary to strictly observe state-to-state agreements and the commitments undertaken at international forums, including the forum in Vienna. In this connection he said that Bulgaria is adjusting her legislature to international norms, a proof of which are the normative acts recently adopted by the National Assembly.

To accommodate the interest shown, Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke about the policy of the state with regard to believers, about the absolute freedom they enjoy in practicing their religion. Analyzing Bulgaro-Turkish relations, their history and the agreements between the two countries, the president of the State Council reaffirmed Bulgaria's desire to continue to work for their development in the name of peace, security and good-neighbourly relations.

On his part, the guest said that the facts about Bulgaro-Turkish relations Mr Todor Zhivkov gave are not known very well in the West and that they should be made more popular.

In conclusion, a shared desire was expressed for the extension of mutually advantageous exchange of views between Bulgaria and Canada and for the activation of bilateral relations.

Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, also attended the meeting.

Zhivkov Receives Turkish Ambassador on Departure
AU1306131289 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] On 13 June Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman, received Omer Lutem, Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his forthcoming final departure from the country. The meeting was attended by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs.

Decree on Solving Manpower Problems Examined
AU1506102789 Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 12 Jun 89 p 2

[Valentin Stoev article: "Economic Corridors of Unification"]

[Text] Although 2 weeks still remain until the end of the half-year period (despite the fact that the results for May, taken by themselves, were less than 100 percent), we can publicize the conclusion of the statisticians that the plan for the first 5 months of 1989, compared with the same period of 1988, shows a growth that is quite reasonable according to all the indicators. This is happy news, especially as regards the most important thing: the fulfillment of the annual plan.

However, if we are to continue with comparisons, we cannot fail to also report a further finding, which incidentally lies at the basis of Council of Ministers' Decree No 27 "On Increasing Discipline and Activating the Labor Collectives for Fulfillment of the 1989 Plan." This is that the national economy will have to overcome difficulties caused by the appearance of acute manpower shortages in certain regions of the country.

In the interest of the truth, we should say that our economy has been hardened in overcoming cadre shortages, especially in certain branches, where this problem has held up production for years, if not for decades, and we cannot but acknowledge that the "battle" is being waged with variable success. Of course, from the global viewpoint matters are resolved (and will be resolved) by global means; these are strategic for our economy and are most generally reflected in the automation of processes, the application of electronics, technological innovations, and so on, but temporary situations require temporary solutions.

The acute cadre shortage that has arisen in certain regions of the country, coupled with the very demanding (but realistic) tasks set for the collectives by the 1989 Economic Plan, require, as is stated in Council of Ministers' Decree No 27 of 8 June, an increase in discipline and activation of the labor collectives to fulfill the plan.

The measures that are being taken are timely, and they guarantee final success, provided, of course, that they become part of everyday life in the workshops, in the fields, and everywhere where production, trade, consumption, and provision of services are in progress....

It is a well-known, self-evident fact that failure to report at work without good reason is one of the most serious breaches of labor discipline; it causes harm to the enterprises and the national economy and provides grounds for taking the severest disciplinary action in accordance with the clauses of the Labor Code and the other normative documents. In addition to this, Council of Ministers' Decree No 27 requires the leaders of economic organizations and companies and the executive committees of the people's councils to create conditions for the most efficient utilization of labor resources and, in cases where necessary, make a start on reducing the administrative and management apparatus and redirect such staff into direct production. This is to be done in the name of the economic tasks. The above leaders are the very people who are entitled to bring in operative cadres and specialists from other enterprises, including those from other regions of the country. In the territories suffering from acute manpower shortages, additional incentives will also be employed before the end of the year. White-collar workers that have entered production will be paid the full amount of their earned wages plus the basic wage for their permanent job.

Apart from this, it is no secret that a considerable number of enterprises in the country are operating with underloaded production capacities and with the marketing of their production not guaranteed. This situation demands that the Ministry of Economy and Planning, the State Labor Inspectorate, and the economic and oblast leaderships should prepare budget plans and determine which workers are to be temporarily assigned to work in the above-mentioned regions. The wages of such workers will be increased by a factor of 1.3, plus business trip allowances. Pensioners working in enterprises and organizations with severe manpower shortages are entitled to receive the full amount of their pension and their earnings. In addition, it is planned, if necessary and by agreement with the trade union organs, to introduce extended working hours and working according to 3- and 6-month work accountability periods. The restrictions introduced by Council of Ministers' Decree No 64 of 1986 will not be applied before the end of 1989 to those workers and specialists who take up employment in regions with acute manpower shortages. Military servicemen will be brought in to work in agriculture and key areas of material production, and much more will be expected of the secondary-school and student brigades in the collection of the harvest. It is further planned, according to the judgment of the Ministry of Planning and Economy, the companies, and other economic organizations, together with the local leaderships, to define the enterprises and their divisions located in regions with acute manpower shortages which are not connected with the basic needs of the national

economy and which are operating at low efficiency, with a view to closing them down and directing the released labor resources to other activities and types of production of higher priority.

Unity and cohesion are features of the Bulgarian nation. This has been categorically proved by our people at different periods of their history, both as a state of mind, an attitude to life, and in real practice. This is a phenomenon that historians, ethnographers, and sociologists are best qualified to explain. The country's economic practice also contains examples of uniting forces, ideas, and intellect in the name of the economic tasks. In this sense, the fulfillment of the annual plan represents a current assessment of the progress of the restructuring that is being implemented in our society.

Press Discusses Regional Manpower Shortages AU1506194589

[Editorial Report] The central Sofia press on 14 June publishes the following readers' letters, correspondents' reports, and other materials on the interconnected subjects of the regional manpower shortages and the exodus of Bulgarian Muslims from the country:

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on page 2, under the rubric "Industriousness—An Unchanging Virtue of the Bulgarians," carries an 800-word dispatch by Dilyan Todorov and Vasil Kh. Popov on a journey through the countryside of southwest Bulgaria, and three readers' letters in support of patriotic unity totaling 700 words. The same newspaper carries on page 4, under the rubric "Discipline, Order, and Personal Responsibility at Every Workplace," a 500-word report by Petko Petkov on manpower shortages at a Sliven mining plant, and a 500-word report by Purvan Todorov on strict labor discipline at a Pleven cement works.

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on page 1 carries an editorial entitled "Economic Concern and Patriotic Duty," urging young people to help in collecting the harvest and compensate for manpower shortages in certain regions; the same paper carries on page 1 a 250-word "Appeal" by Komsomol members in a Kurdzhali school to all Bulgarian Komsomol members to perform their patriotic duty of helping in the harvest.

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on page 1 publishes a 750-word report by Ivanka Koseva, entitled "Now Unity Is in Our Deeds," from a Gabrovo textile plant on labor shortages arising from emigration of workers; the same paper carries on pages 1 and 2 a 700-word report by Agnes Ivanova, entitled "Convincing Demonstration of Hidden Energy," on measures taken to overcome industrial manpower shortages in Razgrad.

Todorov and Popov's report in RABOTNICHESKO DELO describes their car journey through the countryside in the area of Gotse Delchev, in the extreme southwest of Bulgaria, recounting conversations with

house-builders and agricultural workers and their impressions of the prosperity of the countryside and the peaceful industriousness of the inhabitants. Their report ends with an account of a conversation with a couple peacefully working in the fields near the village of Debren, Nevenka and Selef Cholakov. The reporters do not state whether the Cholakovs are Muslims, but add the following comment immediately after their account: "Our thoughts involuntarily return to some of their fellow villagers, whom we saw early this morning at the photographer's. They needed passport photographs for abroad. Well then, let them go to see for themselves. However, our other new acquaintances were more to our liking, because it seems that Cicero had them precisely in mind when he said such a long time ago: 'He who works the fields does not think of doing evil.'"

In his undated report from Sliven on page 4 of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO article, entitled "We Believe in People, They Will Understand Us," oblast correspondent Petko Petkov describes how the "Balkan Basin" Economic Mining-Energy Combine is falling behind in production of lignite and coking coal. However, Petkov was told by the combine's general manager Georgi Betev: "We will solve the unfavorable situation. We have faith in our people, and they will understand us. We will seek help from our old comrades who are now retired. We are taking vigorous action against all attempts at undisciplined behavior and breaches of the regulations in the mines." Petkov describes the organizational measures being taken to improve coal production, including double-shift working, weekend overtime, employing pensioners, directing administrative and ancillary staff to work in the mines, and bringing in workers from outside.

Oblast correspondent Todorov's report from Pleven on the same page, entitled "Not a Burden, but One's Daily Bread," describes the smooth flow of production at the "General Vladimir Zaimov" Cement Plant, where "there is no high job turnover, no vacant workplaces, no absenteeism, and no cases of tardiness at work!" Todorov was told by the plant director, Strakhil Yanchev, that this happy situation was achieved by rigidly enforcing labor discipline and ensuring that the management set a good example to the workers. Todorov was also told of an exceptional, but "scandalous" case of two responsible workers turning up drunk for work. Goran Karchovski, the deputy plant director explained: "We handed them over to the brigade, for it to have a chat with them and determine the punishments.... I would not want anyone to be in the place of the offenders."

Koseva's undated report from Gabrovo on page 1 of TRUD on 14 June begins with an account of her meeting an unnamed female worker in the office of Chavdar Nanov, director of the "Georgi Genev" Combine. Koseva explains that the woman wanted the director to sign her leave application (evidently to emigrate to Turkey), and continues: "She is leaving the country. I was told her parents are pensioners, and have set off

already. Her whole family has gone, and she is going with them. She fears most of all that she will not be able to find work, and five people will be depending on her working hands. She is also afraid for her children, but has to go. I do not ask her why. More than one enterprise has people who will not hide that it is best for them here, that everything here is dear to them, then they will quietly add that they are afraid of the threats, but will say no more. No one will say who is threatening them, who is forcing them to go into the unknown, into insecurity." Koseva adds that "already 300 people have entered the director's office for this reason."

Koseva then describes the measures taken at the plant and other factories in Gabrovo to cover the manpower shortages: "Everyone in the administration, according to a schedule, will do production work (retaining the pay and remuneration for the time worked in the production shop). The municipal trade union council has given permission to work extra hours. Pensioners are being sought out who want to help and are able to work." She adds: "Of course, the problems in this 'extraordinary situation' will not be easy to solve. The question will arise of exhaustion from the extra work. It will be impossible to offer apartments to the new people who want to start work, because the apartments will be filled with the baggage of those who have left. The question has not yet been resolved of how long, where, and how to store the things left in official accommodation by those who have obtained dual citizenship."

Ivanova's report from Razgrad on pages 1 and 2 of the same newspaper describes a largely similar situation in local industry: "These days Razgrad is one of the regions in the country with an acute manpower shortage. Lured by anti-Bulgarian propaganda, a proportion of the descendants of the population converted to Islam are not showing up at work, because they need time to arrange their documents for travel abroad. However, instead of interrupting the rhythm of life, this fact, as it were, has given an opportunity for people to reveal a hidden energy and to display their enthusiasm." Ivanova then gives examples of people volunteering to work outside their regular jobs in restaurants and factory canteens, of teachers working in supermarkets in their summer vacations, and of food plants rescheduling and extending working hours in order to maintain normal supplies to the population.

Ivanova also reports that 150 children from one Sofia school have volunteered to work in the Razgrad region in collecting and processing the harvest, and describes how the "Serdica" Bakery in Razgrad is maintaining production with the help of "nonspecialists." She ends by detailing the cooperative attitude shown by the local trade union organizations regarding special measures to meet the labor shortages in industry and local agriculture.

Plant Workers on 'Morbid Psychosis' of Muslims
AU1506135389 Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME
in Bulgarian 14 Jun 89 p 2

[Petur Marinov report: "We Know No Division, Neither for People nor for Work!"]

[Excerpts] The brandname of Varna's "Druzha" Ready-Made Clothes Enterprise, which is a part of the state "Rila" Company, is known throughout the world—in the USSR, the FRG, the United States, Canada, England, Finland.... Almost 50 percent of the production is exported on the basis of contracts with 17 foreign companies. [passage omitted]

We met three of the workers—Fani Radeva, Zhechka Ivanova, and Fani Marinova:

I have already worked 13 years in the enterprise, Fani Radeva said. After finishing the technical clothing school I was assigned to this plant, and I cannot imagine being anywhere else. It was here that the shop supervisor, Dimitur Pavlov, met me, and here I shall remain. My average monthly wage amounts to 250 leva. We have our own apartment. My husband, Vasil Radev is a brigade leader at the K-1 Hull Construction Shop of the Georgi Dimitrov Ship-Building Plant. We both are still young—he is 33 and I am 32. We have two sons. Eduard is in third grade and Silyan in sixth. When the children were smaller, I was allowed to work 6 hours a day. Since I neverth-less fulfilled the full-day quota, I received a full wage. Every year we go to a different resort for vacation. We have toured the country, and I can tell you how beautiful Bulgaria is. Many Bulgarian Muslims are now influenced by the morbid psychosis and are leaving. Where to, I ask. My husband and I have decided—we belong here, we will stay here, this is where our children's future is, and I do not care what other people are saying, she says, and resumes her work. [passage omitted]

People say about her colleague, Zhechka Ivanova, that she is the most experienced and best worker in the enterprise. She has been there for 20 years! Today she is working at the overlock sewing machine and makes parts for white trousers, which will be exported to the USSR.

I like my shift, she says. We have always been united, and nobody has ever said anything about religion—whether a worker is a Muslim, a Christian, or an atheist. There also is no division now. We are used to each other, we have always been together, and will remain together. Well, one cannot be friendly with all 108 women in the hall, but we understand each other. Besides, during the workday there is no chance to conduct conversations. But let me tell you again, there is no division here, either for people or for work.

Fani Marinova is also a specialist—she can perform all the operations with all machines. She came 9 years ago to "Druzha," immediately after completing her studies. She became a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party 5 years ago. She is satisfied with the wage and her work.

The only thing is that I am not calm, she says. This is crazy. I do not know where those people are going. However, I know people from my village who are leaving for Turkey. To whom are they going? What are they going to do there?...

Fani is really concerned. Her colleague Svetla calms her down. However, how can she be calm when she does not know what her father, mother, and two brothers are thinking? Nevertheless, she is certain that nobody from her family wants to leave. It is human to be concerned—does not everybody have problems? In addition she has to think about getting married.... It is a good thing that she has her colleagues, because, as she says, she would be nothing without the united "Druzha" collective and without the respect she enjoys!... Respect among the workers does not come as a gift. One has to earn it!

Call for Patriotic Efforts To Collect Harvest
AU1506143189 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH
in Bulgarian 14 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Editorial: "Economic Concern and Patriotic Duty"]

[Excerpts] The July 1987 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party opened a new page in our country's history. Our people not only adopted the new model for the socioeconomic development of socialist Bulgaria but also began to implement it. Through the new economic policy and the recent decisions of the National Assembly, new opportunities are granted to every Bulgarian citizen to travel throughout the world, and democratic conditions have been created for expanding economic initiative, learning from foreign experience, and "purchasing" the most valuable elements in the achievements of human civilization. We are both witnesses and creators of an in-depth restructuring of society, which grants us the opportunity to join the ranks of the advanced peoples, and have our say in mankind's history.

This is not to the liking of some of our "friends," who are at present attempting to divert us and slow us down, forgetting that the Bulgarian nation is tough, that it preserved itself in servitude, and gave "something to the world."

Incited by various "well-wishers," certain of our fellow-countrymen, consciously or without realizing it, have begun to squander the fruits of their own honest labor. Some are even abandoning hearth and home in a chase after illusory happiness, and this at the beginning of a rich year, whose harvest we have long awaited. To collect

the harvest in good time and without losses, the government adopted a timely decree and created conditions for mobilizing all forces for organization and discipline.

Every year hundreds of thousands of high school and college students from the entire country join in this battle. After difficult negotiations on equal terms at the brigade labor exchanges, and in direct bilateral contacts, agreements have been concluded this year for over 70,000 brigade workers in the summer and the same number during the autumn. [passage omitted]

Now, on the eve of the reaping the crops, of collecting the rich agricultural harvest, the leaderships of the agricultural organizations are seeking reserves in order to flexibly and effectively direct and utilize the permanent workers. Employees are being brought in from other enterprises, and piecework is expanding. A number of incentives have been created to increase the interest of those who undertake extra work, especially in regions with manpower shortages. These incentives must also be received by the young people who come to the aid of the national economy in brigades, brigade groups, or under individual contracts. A special letter of the Higher Education Council has created a number of advantages for students. Young volunteers are given the right to work in their home areas under individual and group contracts.

In Varna and Razgrad Oblasts there is a demand in agriculture and industry for additional numbers of brigade workers, for whom the economic leadership are creating the necessary conditions. This makes it necessary not only to reexamine certain contracts already signed, to see whether they can be reassigned to other areas but also to continue the work of hiring new brigade workers.

The collection of the harvest from these regions and its full utilization and processing is not simply an act of economic concern but a patriotic duty, a manifestation of an active civic stance on the part of Bulgarian youth. [passage omitted]

Enterprises Advised To Fulfill State Orders
AU1506142089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 14 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Orders That Are Legally Binding"]

[Text] It is an objective requirement that the state, with its institutions, should assume the care and responsibility for the most essential social needs. This requirement is regarded as an everlasting characteristic of the state's role in settling social processes and subjecting the development of productive forces and production relations to public interests. Naturally, the objective nature of these forces should be taken into consideration.

The radical reform we are engaged in today, namely the economic reform, and the transition to company-based production organization definitely contribute to expanding the rights and freedoms of commodity producers. Conditions were established for a real link between the individual collectives and workers in our country and their creative, labor activities.

A real danger, however, exists that certain trends of collective egotism might emerge under these circumstances. As a matter of fact, they have already manifested themselves. Such actions indicate that the narrow-minded, and sometimes even selfish, interests of individual collectives and personalities are beginning to prevail over the interests of society. It is true that profit is an important economic incentive, but it may turn into a fetish under the following circumstances:

- When, either on an arbitrary basis, or with the unjustified consent of superior organs, prices are being manipulated for the sake of profits;
- When price setting is not coordinated with improvements related to the quality, reliability, and design of a given product;
- When the ambition to export certain quantities of goods begins to prevail over the requirements of the domestic market;
- When profits are no longer the results of increased labor productivity and of greater efficiency;

Disproportions are likely to occur in such cases, not only in the sphere of production use but also in the sphere of consumer use. The freedom and independence of commodity producers should not become a basis for arbitrary actions and anarchy. The freedom and independence of the commodity producers should be an integral part of the requirement for discipline in the broadest sense of this word.

If the state and its institutions have assumed the functions of strategic planning of settling the national economic proportions, if they have renounced their rights of petty supervision over the producers' activities, it does not mean that they should also be relieved of the concern and responsibility for the general state of the market, for the consumers' immediate, everyday needs. State tasks and state orders represent the economic levers for restraining the centrifugal forces, for preventing manifestations of anarchy in the organization of production. It is quite appropriate to point out that state orders are an instrument of settling relations between state authorities and commodity producers in all civilized societies. Decree No 56 explains the rules for the functioning of this instrument in our country.

Nevertheless, it is not a secret that numerous commodity producers in the newly established companies, and even in state enterprises, are finding innumerable reasons for rejecting, or restricting the state orders. It is no secret

either, that these commodity producers, or some of them, at least, have accepted the state orders in silent disagreement and are by no means eager to fulfill them.

It seems that concepts, such as social discipline and social ethics have ceased to exist for them. Objective reasons are the usual arguments they use to justify such actions. A shortage of manpower is the usual explanation. Nevertheless, the redundant administrative-managing personnel continues to increase, interruptions of work still occur, as a rule, and only half of the available manpower is used in numerous enterprises, which is explained by a shortage of production installations. In the meantime, however, the available machines and equipment continue to be idle, while new equipment and machines are being purchased, which remain unused for several months or even years, without having even been installed. This results in tremendous financial losses. This situation, in turn, is explained by the shortage of raw materials. In the meantime, however, large quantities of unused raw materials, worth over 2 billion leva, are accumulating in those enterprises. Who is responsible for this?

State orders embody the most urgent needs of society. It is a social duty to fulfill them. This is a matter of social discipline!

BTA on Papandreou Remarks on Bulgaria, Turkey
AU1506132889 Sofia BTA in English
1227 GMT 15 Jun 89

["Discussion of the Turkish Policy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Athens, June 15 (BTA)—Mr Andreas Papandreou, prime minister of Greece and president of the ruling party PASOK sharply denounced the interference of the Turkish mass media in the pre-election campaign for the Greek parliamentary elections on June 18. In statements made in Thessaloniki, where there was a pre-election tour, the Greek leader stressed that the continuing provocative broadcasts of the Turkish radio and television in support of a few religious fanatics and pro-Turkish chauvinists of the Muslim minority in northern Turkey, which are told to have applied independently for the national elections represent "unacceptable interference in Greece's internal affairs." He recalled that Greece has sent two notes of protest to Turkey and that his government reserves its right to undertake additional initiatives, if the gross interference of the Turkish mass media in the pre-election campaign of Greece continues.

The provocative interference of Turkey in the pre-election campaign in Greece was condemned unanimously by all political parties in the country.

Against the background of these events, the interest was drawn by yesterday's press-conference in Athens at which Mr Aleksandur Georgiev, counsellor at the Bulgarian Embassy acquainted the Greek journalists with Bulgaria's policy, directed at understanding with all countries in the world and mainly with the Balkan peninsula countries.

Bulgaria is an initiator and actively supports all proposals, directed at the establishment of a lasting peace in the Balkans, of an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and good-neighbourliness. A proof of that are the results of the recently held top level Bulgaro-Greek meeting at which particularly important was the joint declaration of Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou for turning of the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free zone. Unfortunately, the actions of the Turkish Government are in contradiction to the efforts to strengthen the spirit of cooperation and good-neighbourliness in the Balkans. It was stressed at the press-conference that certain political circles in that country do not stop to stir up tensions in Bulgaro-Turkish relations. It was stressed that the ideological basis of these circles is the Turkish nationalism as well as their expansionist plans concerning neighbouring countries.

At the press-conference a stress was placed on the words of Mr Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's State Council president, that Bulgaria favours normal good-neighbourly relations with Turkey but that our people will oppose all kinds of interference in its internal affairs and abuse of religious and other feelings, breaking the country's laws.

Zhivkov Receives Iranian Petroleum Minister
AU1506125889 Sofia BTA in English
1227 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia, June 15 (BTA)—State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov received today Mr Gholamreza Aqazadeh, Iran's minister of oil.

The Bulgarian state leader assessed highly the development of the relations between Bulgaria and Iran and stressed that they have acquired new dimensions and dynamics in the years after the revolution in Iran, have turned into relations of sincere friendship and broad cooperation.

Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed condolences in connection with the decease of the leader of the Iranian people Ayatollah Ruhollah Musavi Khomeyni and wished to the leadership of Iran's people new successes in the construction of the country.

Mr Gholamreza Aqazadeh conveyed an oral message from the chairman of Iran's Parliament Mr 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, head of Iran's Armed Forces. The message expresses Iran's readiness for further broadening and deepening of the mutually advantageous friendly relations with Bulgaria.

The possibilities for development of the economic cooperation were discussed during the talk. It was stressed that this cooperation is entering into a new stage characterized by the discussion and realization of great projects for production and trade cooperation, for the establishing of joint enterprises in different spheres of economy.

Questions of the sociopolitical development in the two countries were also discussed, as well as international issues of mutual interest. Mr Andrey Lukanov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign economic relations, also attended the talk, which passed in a friendly atmosphere and complete understanding.

Atanasov Receives Iranian

*AU1506141089 Sofia BTA in English
1340 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 15 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, received Mr Gholamreza Aqazadeh, Iran's minister of oil.

During the talk was expressed the mutual satisfaction over the dynamic upgrade development of the Bulgaro-Iranian economic cooperation, which has as a stable and long-term base the agreements between the leaders of the two countries' governments of the previous year. As especially prospective trends for the further mutually advantageous cooperation were assessed the projects for joint investments for the construction of projects of the oil extracting and oil refining industry in Bulgaria and Iran. The sides discussed also concrete issues related to the deliveries of gas and oil for Bulgaria and of Bulgarian projects and equipment for the oil and chemical industry of Iran. The talk was attended by the chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Joint Bulgaro-Iranian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Mr Khristo Khristov, minister at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Todorov Talks With Iranian Parliamentarians

*AU1506173489 Sofia BTA in English
1622 GMT 15 Jun 89*

["Bulgaro-Iranian Parliamentary Ties"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 15 (BTA)—Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly of Bulgaria, today received the Iranian parliamentarians Mr Mir Mohammedi and Mr 'Abdol 'Azim Khaza'i, who are members of the Iranian delegation headed by Mr Gholamreza Aqazadeh, minister of oil.

The two sides discussed the situation of parliamentary cooperation between Bulgaria and Iran, the prospects for its advancement and the promotion of Bulgaro-Iranian relations as a whole. Assessing the existing contacts between the Parliaments of the two countries as good, both sides stated they are ready to further extend them.

Mr Stanko Todorov underlined that the relations between the two countries are being developed in all fields and that there are no problems to hinder cooperation.

The Iranian parliamentarians confirmed their country's desire to extend its ties with Bulgaria and pointed out that new possibilities for it have been opened by the talks which are under way in Sofia. They are convinced that carrying out joint activities and establishing joint enterprises will contribute to the strengthening and the extension of cooperation and to its placing on a long-term basis.

Todorov Confers With Canadian Senate Speaker

*AU1306114189 Sofia BTA in English
1010 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 13 (BTA)—Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of Bulgaria's National Assembly, today conferred with Mr Guy Charbonneau, speaker of Canada's Senate.

The sides briefed each other on the role and the place of the two parliaments in the public life of Bulgaria and Canada. Mr Stanko Todorov told his guest about the socio-economic reforms in this country, about the restructuring processes, and he stressed the importance of the supreme legislative body for the implementation of democratic change.

The chairman of the Bulgarian Parliament answered Mr Charbonneau's questions concerning the progress of work on the constitutional reform which will lead to changes in the supreme body of power, too. The number of members will be probably reduced to 250 from 400 and they would become full-time parliamentarians. The operation of the National Assembly would be revised in a number of other respects, too.

Mr Stanko Todorov dwelt in detail on the economic reform in Bulgaria, amounting to the introduction of the company-based organisation in industry and agriculture and to the wide-ranging application of economic levers and regulators, of the principles of self-management and self-finance. In this connection, the sides agreed that the liberalization of Bulgaria's economic life will undoubtedly open up fresh opportunities for cooperation between Bulgarian and Canadian companies doing business in various branches.

Todorov Meets Finnish Parliamentary Delegation

*AU1306132489 Sofia BTA in English
1231 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 13 (BTA)—Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, received today the Finnish parliamentary delegation which is paying a visit to this country, headed by Mr Mikko Pesala, deputy president of the Parliament.

Noting the positive changes which have taken place in the world in the sphere of detente and disarmament the two sides stressed that it is extremely important now, alongside the struggle for disarmament, to provide conditions for economic and cultural cooperation. Parliaments can have a major role in this respect, by providing the needed conditions for contacts between business and cultural circles.

Mr Stanko Todorov indicated that the economic reform taking place in this country is a good prerequisite and opportunity for the establishment of relations between Bulgarian and foreign companies as well as for the setting up of joint stock companies. We are hoping that economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Finland will develop in this respect. Finland can be helpful with its technological experience to the restructuring of our economy, the chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly said.

Mr Stanko Todorov and Mikko Pesala dwelled on the ideas of Bulgaria and Finland about turning the Balkans and northern Europe into nuclear-weapons-free zones. As Mr Mikko Pesala said, the fulfilment of the two ideas fully depends on NATO's attitude.

The visit of the Finnish delegation continues with meetings with representatives of business and cultural circles, with state officials and visits of economic projects.

Economic Delegation Pays Visit to United States
AU1506132889 Sofia BTA in English
1222 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Washington, June 14 (BTA corr.)—A Bulgarian economic delegation headed by Mr Konstantin Glavanakov, deputy minister of foreign economic affairs, is on a working visit to the United States. Seminars on the new economic conditions and the opportunities for investments in Bulgaria were organized.

At the three seminars held in Atlanta, Los Angeles and Washington representatives of the U.S. business circles set a number of concrete questions about the conditions for investment in Bulgaria determined by Decree No 56, as well as about a long-term production, technological and trade cooperation along the main trends of our economy.

Assistance for the organization of the seminars was rendered by large American companies like Dow Chemical, Honeywell, Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, Philip Brothers, Price Waterhouse, etc.

In Washington were held meetings and talks at the Ministry of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce and the U.S. Congress. The sides discussed questions of the bilateral trade economic relations, as well as the Bulgarian candidacy for GATT. During the talks a number of opportunities for cooperation of mutual interest were

discussed. It was agreed in the near future to organize a visit to Bulgaria of delegations of American businessmen showing interest in the investment of capitals.

A press conference was held at the National Press Club in Washington at which the representatives of the mass media were briefed on the aims of the visit of the delegation and on the chief moments of the economic reform underway in Bulgaria.

Commentary Examines Position on CSCE Accords
AU0206133189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 1 Jun 89 p 5

[Unattributed commentary: "Coincidence With Universal Human Ideals"]

[Text] Bulgaria has adopted the Vienna accords and is doing everything within its powers and capabilities to implement them in practice.

—The democratic renewal in the country expands the rights and liberties of every Bulgarian citizen.

—The progressive achievements of human thought and the ethical and humane norms of the international community form our guide into the future.

These are the main conclusions that may be reached from the speech by Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov at the first Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE that has opened in Paris. As is well-known, the conference is the result of the accords reached at the Vienna meeting of the countries participating in the CSCE, and it will be followed by forums in Copenhagen in 1990 and in Mexico in 1991. The aim of all these meetings is to impart a strong impetus to all-European intellectual cooperation.

It becomes crystal clear from the speech that Bulgaria is carrying out the instructions of the Vienna meeting in practice. Bulgaria bases herself on the view that the world is entering a new stage of intellectual maturity, and that the new political thinking elevates man as the main agent and prime unit of society. This is the position from which our country addresses all its actions toward man's welfare and his physical and intellectual liberation from servitude. Examples of this are provided by the resolutions of the last National Assembly session, which adopted important amendments to the passport and Bulgarian nationality laws, the Penal Code, and the Amnesty Act. These are in harmony with the dominating trend for the primacy of the law in both internal state relations and international relations.

Socialist Bulgaria has always made a cult of man's welfare. However, this is not fiction, and under present-day conditions this demands peaceful coexistence in the common European home. This presupposes mutual respect and observance of the interests of different peoples on an equal rights basis, and linking human

rights and liberties with the rights and liberties of individual human communities. This is exactly the course our country is following. The region in which Bulgaria is situated is a complex and contradictory one. However, Bulgaria does not reject regional cooperation, including cooperation on human rights questions. In the name of this cooperation, it proposed to hold in Sofia a meeting of the Balkan countries on questions of culture, the mass media, and humanitarian interrelations, and this was adopted.

Having evolved as a democratic and law-governed country that has inherited humanitarian traditions from near and far, Bulgaria is highly interested in further developing the intellectual cooperation between all European peoples. This was convincingly demonstrated in the Bulgarian foreign minister's speech. Against this background, the attempts of certain foreign circles to hinder the processes of renewal in our country deserve outright and harsh condemnation. They are an instructive example of crude interference in our internal affairs, and are completely at variance with the international obligations adopted at the Vienna meeting.

The Bulgarian position in Paris is proof that in the conditions of the new political thinking our people's interests fully coincide with universal human interests and with the great humane ideals of peace, liberty, and creativity.

Meeting of Agrarian, Democratic Parties Ends
AU1306183389 Sofia BTA in English
1746 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Sofia, June 13 (BTA)—A working meeting of responsible representatives of 15 agrarian parties, center, radical, liberal and other democratic parties and organizations of 12 countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe took place in Varna June 9-10, 1989.

During the discussions it was underlined that the agrarian parties, the center, radical, liberal and other democratic parties and organizations are determined to take an active part in the all-European process on the basis of the Helsinki and Vienna accords.

A number of new ideas and initiatives were suggested and debated at the meeting. The participants backed the proposal that a big international meeting of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations should be held in Bulgaria on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

All agreed that the preparations for the Fourth Conference of Agrarian and Other Democratic Parties and Organizations of Europe, the United States and Canada to be held in Helsinki should start. The proposal for this conference was made by the Center Party of Finland.

The participants welcomed the information about the preparations for the Second International Conference of Agrarian and Other Democratic Parties and Organizations of the C.S.C.E. Member Countries which will be organized by the Democraten'66 Party of Holland and will be held in The Hague in the spring of 1990. The conference will discuss questions of security and cooperation in Europe.

Decrees Published on Creation of Oblast Units
AU1506115789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 13 Jun 89 p 2

[Text] The following more important acts are published in Issue No 45 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

—Decree No 1,042 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, dated 6 June, on amendments and additions to the Law on Creating Oblast Administrative-Territorial Units. Article 3 of the decree is amended in toto. It is stated that the oblast people's council conducts state policy in the spheres of socioeconomic and intellectual development and effective utilization of the natural, material, and labor resources on the territory of the oblast. The tasks of the oblast people's council are listed. They include the following: participating in drafting the state plan for the country's socioeconomic development; adopting a strategy, programs, and plans for developing the oblast on the basis of the plan for the country's socioeconomic development and organizing their fulfillment; coordinating and controlling the development of project planning and construction; methodically supervising and controlling the activities of the municipalities concerned with territorial and settlement structure, town planning, urbanization, land surveying, and the land register; organizationally managing and financing health, educational, cultural, and social establishments at the oblast and district levels, and so on. The oblast people's council repeals illegal acts passed by the municipal people's councils and draws up its own budget.

—Decree No 1,041 of the State Council on amendments and additions to the Law on Cultural Monuments and Museums. The most important of the amendments and additions made to the law are those that grant functions to the oblast and municipal people's councils which were previously exercised by the okrug people's councils.

—Decree No 1,040 of the State Council dated 6 June 1989 on amendments and additions to the Law on Closer Links Between the School and Life and Further Developing National Education in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The decree grants additional rights to the oblast and municipal people's councils relating to the opening and closing of schools and childrens' establishments, rights that were previously exercised by the superior organs.

—Extract from Council of Ministers' Decree No 24 of 31 May 1989 on Creating a Duty-Free Customs Zone in Burgas. The regulations for management and administration of the Burgas duty-free customs zone are also adopted by this decree.

—Council of Ministers' Decree No 25 of 2 June 1989 on additions to the Regulations for Classification of Labor Upon Retirement.

—Extract from Council of Ministers' Decree No 26 of 5 June 1989 on amending the Customs Tariff appended to Council of Ministers' Decree No 33 of 1988.

—The Ministry of Planning and Economy has published an agreement between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Sweden on avoidance of double taxation on incomes and property.

—The Ministry of Planning and Economy and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions have published an instruction dated 28 April 1989 on normative regulations for the use of departmental holiday and rest facilities in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

—The Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, and Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Bulgarian Red Cross have published a supplement to the Regulations on Life-Saving and Guarding Water Areas.

Daily Discusses Efficacy of Anonymous Letters
AU0606162189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 5 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Goran Gotev article: "Letters Without a Sender Have No Addressee"]

[Text] Do you remember Vanka Zhukov, Chekhov's little hero, who wrote a desperate letter to his grandfather? It was addressed to: "My grandfather—in the village." I always recall this short story, whenever I happen to read an anonymous reader's letter. For, no matter how sincere it may sound, no matter how many truths it may reveal, a letter without a sender remains a letter without an addressee—in other words it is an aimless, blank shot.

The decision of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo on anonymous letters prompted a large amount of readers' reactions which accumulated on the desks of our editorial board. The majority of them expressed approval for the measures against anonymous letters, denunciations, and slanders. This is so because an anonymous letter frequently is by no means a blank shot, but a shot in ambush. The victim is exposed to attack, while the enemy remains in hiding. Thus, the person attacked cannot defend himself. The anonymous letter on white stationery is either written in disguised hand-writing, or typed, and usually discloses that the slandered person has abused his social and official position, has squandered state property, or practiced nepotism—facts which the anonymous author has not the least intention of proving. He calls for an investigation, and urges the legal organs or the mass media to deal with the case. Concealed behind his anonymity, he is waiting for results. In the meantime the man who has been anonymously accused does not even suspect that his name has been disgraced, that his prestige has been undermined, that files against him are accumulating somewhere on someone's desk, that his

colleagues—friends and enemies—are being questioned about him, and that his entire professional and private life is being exposed to public judgment and condemnation.

Even if the investigations cannot prove anything, the anonymous sender is still on the winning side. What about the sleepless nights of the victim, the time wasted in questioning various people, what about the shattered nerves, the shaken self-confidence, and the undermined prestige of the victim? All these things are to the advantage of the anonymous author, he can consider them as his clear gains and, protected by the screen of his anonymity, he can rejoice at his triumph.

It was precisely to eliminate this inhuman and immoral practice, which has nothing in common with our socialist ethics, that the aforementioned Politburo decision was conceived. Our readers fully agreed with it.

Georgi Stanev (resident in Sofia, at No 62 Kiril Pchelinski Street) pointed out as follows in his letter: "The fact that the BCP Central Committee Politburo published a Decision entitled: 'Anonymous Tips Lead to no Action' is more than topical, it is even somewhat belated, if we consider that Article 17, Paragraph 4 of the Law on Proposals, Tips, Complaints, and Petitions, published 9 years ago in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, issue No 52 on 4 July 1980, reads: 'No action shall be taken on the basis of anonymous tips.'"

Our reader Stanev continued his letter by saying that glasnost requires a courageous, timely, unflagging, and purposeful struggle against negative phenomena. One of these phenomena is the attack on the citizens right to submittips, complaints, proposals, and petitions. This is why our reader Stanev proposes that attention should be paid to the strict application of sanctions against the breach of this law, as provided for in the administrative penal regulations published in connection with the law.

Nevertheless, anonymity can serve a different purpose, as our readers suggest. The anonymous letter may have been sent by an enterprise, a collective, or an institute. Such letters, in general, refer to a manager who has become excessively conceited and is ruling over his subordinates. The enterprise may be very successful, while the collective has to live in an atmosphere of oppression. The chief orders the personnel about, and suppresses all criticism from his subordinates, punishing and dismissing them for even the slightest hint of protest. Under such circumstances, is the anonymous letter not the only way to reveal the truth? This what our readers ask. Surely any indication of the identity of senders describing any kind of irregularity may cause them infinite troubles? Are not we inevitably led to the conclusion that in certain cases anonymity is also necessary, that anonymity may prove a useful cover against the long arm of a vindictive superior?

Accepting this, would mean returning to the indivisible and all-powerful anonymity, not as a constructive force, but rather as a destructive one, a force that upsets our lives and disrupts the social collectives, and is alien to the open civic society we are striving for.

Grudi Andreeve, (a pensioner) from Sofia wrote in his letter to our editorial board: "I think that the decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo that no action should be taken on the basis of anonymous letters will be accepted by the broad strata of the people as a correct, timely, and necessary measure under the conditions of expanding democracy, glasnost, and restructuring in our society. The argument that anonymous tips frequently contain unjustified accusations and slanderous denunciations against honest, competent, and talented people is true, but at the same time we cannot deny that many of these anonymous tips are correct and help us to detect crimes and other negative phenomena of a most varied nature....

"Parting from this point of view I propose that those tips whose authors have revealed their real names and addresses, but expressed the wish that their names be kept secret, under certain guarantees, should be taken into consideration," Andreev says.

Naturally, not all anonymous letters can be rejected as anonymous slanders, or complaints against conceited leaders. I received a letter covering 5 densely typed pages, addressed to the most authoritative institutions, including RABOTNICHESKO DELO. The anonymous authors submitted a detailed complaint about the fact that a new housing block being built in their district will occupy the last free space between the existing housing blocks. They even supplied a sketch. The unknown petitioners are presumably right. Why did they not have the courage to sign their letter, in such case? Which of them would suffer for expressing his opinion on a future building project? "We refrained from signing our letter for understandable reasons, but everything it contains can be investigated and verified," the author, or authors, wrote. What are these "understandable reasons" that prevent one from signing a statement which one is totally convinced of? If there is no evil intention, in such cases, the reason can only playing safe, but against whom and

against what? The result of the case is well-known. All the 5 typewritten pages were in vain. This letter reminded me of the one Vanka Zhukov wrote to his grandfather.

We are expressing our wish to live and creatively work in a civic society, in a law-governed state. However, the civic society consists of citizens who should be aware of their rights and also of their responsibilities. Naturally, every irregularity, every breach of law, or outrageous action provokes indignation, prompts an urgent call for intervention on the part of the authorities, for bringing those responsible to account. Nevertheless, the first natural reaction—namely to report on the irregularity and to unmask those responsible—should not be compromised by hiding behind the veil of anonymity. Anonymity would deprive even the most justified tip and the most uncontested truth of its meaning. Even the most correct stand, if it is marked by anonymity, cannot be considered an act of civil courage, it becomes vulnerable, and deprived of its authenticity.

Of course, our editorial board receives numerous anonymous letters which bear false signatures and addresses. This is a form of deception that speaks for itself and most eloquently shows the author's moral character. He is just trying to cheat the editorial board by implying that the under-signed Ivan Ivanov, or Stoyan Stoyanov is a real personality, who boldly and uncompromisingly reveals irregularities and criticizes those who are breaking the law. As a rule, the ensuing investigation reveals that no Ivan Ivanov or Stoyan Stoyanov lives at the indicated address and the "facts" they have revealed are nonexistent, or just slanders. The white stationery has again been soiled by unclean hands.

It is unnecessary to warn that our editorial board does not deal and shall not deal with any anonymous tips, or letters, not only because they are banned by the law. Even if such legal requirements did not exist, our newspaper could not accept and justify anonymity under any form, whatsoever.

It is evident that the law provides legal guarantees for the protection of those who voice justified criticism against any form of persecution, however it is also obvious that truth—nothing but the confirmed and undeniable truth—is the best and most reliable weapon of defense for those who have something to criticize.

Further on CPCZ Central Committee Session

15 Jun Agenda Outlined

LD1506090389 Prague CTK in English
0708 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 15 (CTK)—The 14th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee continues here today with a debate on the report on the activity of the party after the 13th session of its Central Committee and its further tasks.

Members and alternate members of the party Central Committee also discuss the implementation of the resolution of the Central Committee on the scientific-technological development, metallurgy, engineering and electrical engineering.

Hanus Addresses Commission

LD1506104489 Prague CTK in English
0906 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 15 (CTK)—“The mastering of the scientific-technological revolution is decisive in the class struggle with capitalism. To stand up to this competition is the vital issue for socialism and the preservation of world peace”, Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee secretary and head of its Commission for Science and Technology Frantisek Hanus said here today.

Addressing the 14th plenary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on the problems of scientific-technological development, Frantisek Hanus stressed the necessity of Czechoslovakia's incorporation into international cooperation, mainly with the Soviet Union and other Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) member countries, to speed up the intensification of the Czechoslovak economy.

Speaking about the development of the Czechoslovak economy, Frantisek Hanus pointed out the fact that despite all positive results and indisputable progress, the necessary turn has not been achieved and the required demands have not been reached.

“The speedier application of the findings of scientific-technological development could not occur inter alia due to the fact that the existing mechanism of cooperation of the CMEA member countries used up to a certain extent its possibilities despite the adopted programs”, Frantisek Hanus said, and added that “advanced capitalist countries applied hard discriminatory measures against us, and efforts to solve problems with our own strength even where it was unjustified and wrong failed to be overcome.”

Frantisek Hanus went on to stress that it is necessary to start a qualitatively higher form of scientific-technological development based on informatics, automation, electronization, use of new materials and biotechnologies and the creation and protection of the living environment.

“The metallurgical industry, engineering and electrical engineering play an irreplaceable role in speeding up the scientific-technological development and intensification of the national economy”, Frantisek Hanus said. He pointed out that the metallurgical-engineering and electrical engineering complex now faces the most serious changes since 1948 as the current needs of the Czechoslovak national economy do not allow continuation of the present development characterized inter alia by outdated production means and excessive assortment.

He stressed the necessity of a basically new approach to the structure of engineering exports and imports with the Soviet Union, which continues to be Czechoslovakia's main partner, as the possibilities of the traditional model of exchange of Czechoslovak machinery for Soviet raw materials have been used up to a considerable extent.

In trade with capitalist countries, where the Czechoslovak passive balance of payments has increased by more than one half in the past nine years, it is necessary to make use of the possibilities of establishment of new forms of cooperation based on mutual advantage without increasing Czechoslovak debts.

Session Discusses Cadre Proposals

LD1506141889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1300 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Excerpts] The 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee continued in Prague Castle's Spanish Hall today with discussion on the report on the CPCZ's activity after the 13th session of the Central Committee and its further tasks. [passage omitted]

The CPCZ Central Committee discussed cadre proposals. In a secret ballot it elected Comrade Ivan Knotek, Presidium member, Secretariat member, and Central Committee secretary.

It elected Comrade Pavol Hrivnak, candidate member of the party Central Committee Presidium. It elected Comrade Miroslav Zajic, Secretariat member and party Central Committee secretary. It has approved the transfer of Comrade Miroslava Nemcova and Comrade Jaromir Zak from candidate members to members of the CPCZ Central Committee.

It approved the proposal for the election of Comrade Pavel Bovansky to the post of CPSL Central Committee secretary. It approved the proposal for the release of Comrade Jan Gajdosik from the post of leading secretary of the central Slovak regional party committee. It

approved the proposal for the election of Comrade Jan Selecky to the post of leading secretary of the central Slovak regional party committee.

It approved the release of Comrade Jozef Lenart from the post of chairman and member of the CPCZ Central Committee National Economy Commission. It elected Comrade Ivan Knotek a member and chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee National Economy Commission.

It elected Comrade Miroslav Zajic chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee Agriculture and Food Commission.

At the end of the session, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke. The 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee ended with the singing of the Internationale.

Jakes Closing Address

*LD1506195489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Closing speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, at the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session in Prague Castle's Spanish Hall on 15 Jun—read by announcer]

[Text] I would like, above all, to thank the party's Central Committee for its support for the draft documents submitted—the report on the party's activity following the 13th Central Committee session and its further tasks, the questions concerning scientific and technological development and the work of the engineering complex, which were submitted by Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the Central Committee, in his opening speech, as well as for its support for the cadre proposals submitted. This is an expression of the unity of approach of the party's Central Committee, which in present conditions is of exceptional importance. This does not mean that there are no questions to which this or that comrade adopts a critical stand or who regards the solution of other problems as being more important. This is natural because there will always be differences of views. On the contrary, it is important that they are voiced and examined jointly because real unity and correct decisions are based on this.

I would like to commend the active attitude of members and candidate members of the party's Central Committee on the problems discussed. Thirty-seven comrades spoke during the debate and it is especially important that in addition to support, stimulating suggestions, experiences, and critical remarks were aired, also concerning the work of the Central Committee and the activity of its executive bodies. This will be examined responsibly by the Presidium and Secretariat of the party's Central Committee, and both will proceed from their conclusions in their future work.

We have adopted a position on checking the implementation of the resolution on scientific and technological development in metallurgy, machine-building, and electrical engineering. This expresses the view of the party's Central Committee on the current situation in these areas and on the fulfillment to date of the tasks set. Its main purpose is to unite the course of action of party organs and organizations, and of all Communists, in tackling specific questions and problems which are connected with the development and application of science and technology, with raising the performance of the engineering complex in the period up to the 18th party congress, and with proposals for the preparation of congress resolutions.

The adoption of the standpoint is, naturally, only a beginning, and it was rightly stressed that it is necessary to proceed methodically. It is not for the Central Committee to decide every question in a totally specific manner. This is the duty of the relevant governments and Communists who are responsible for individual areas and for production.

The decisive thing now will be the practical implementation of the requirements expressed in the standpoint, which were talked about in detail in the discussion. The critical and demanding analysis of the application of science and technology at individual workplaces with the aim of achieving results comparable to leading producers must become the point of departure everywhere. This is important and fundamental. Scientific and technical progress, the main bearer of which is the engineering complex, as was correctly said in the discussion, is a truly strategic affair. Changes in the structure of our economy, with the correct investment policy in capital construction, and by perfecting management are the prerequisites for the intensification of the national economy, for increasing the efficiency of production, the technical level and quality of production, and its ability to compete on world markets, and also for solutions to the ecological problems that give rise to continually greater concern. Without a more decisive approach in these areas we will not be able to accelerate socioeconomic development nor secure the necessary creation of resources and the further improvement in the standard of living of the people.

In this connection I would like to single out the role played by the workers of the scientific and technological front, who have a high responsibility toward society. It is necessary to create better conditions for their work but also to place higher demands on them, especially as regards the results of their activity. This requires a parting of the ways with complacency as well as with equal remuneration everywhere. The faster and more effective application of the findings of science and technology calls for a combined effort on the part of the technical intelligentsia and of the working class, and in this sense it is necessary to return again to the spirit of the Prague challenge. It also requires the reinforcement

of the autonomous economic and financial links between research and production. Management workers, above all, have the decisive responsibility in this respect.

Great emphasis also needs to be placed on providing a high standard of training for cadres, especially from the viewpoint of their ability to develop and apply science and technology, and to work and manage in new economic conditions. Yes, it is right that we take a critical view of problems and shortcomings that arise because we cannot do otherwise.

In comparison with other developed countries we are lagging behind to a certain extent. But we cannot also be blind to the fact that there are concrete results here. They were spoken of by Comrade Riman and by others. It is also necessary to take a very critical approach in this area but not in such a way as to create a nihilistic attitude toward what we have done and what we can do. And this concerns us personally—how we are able to discuss these questions and how we are able to explain them.

Scientific-technical development must be at the center of attention of the party, of its organs and organizations, of Communists in all sections of the life of society. The main thing is to create the desired atmosphere, conditions for the development of creative initiative in scientific research, labor collectives in production, support for innovative activity, and to fight against mediocrity, in particular against laziness, which is often deeply entrenched. This is how one has to approach the fulfillment of tasks for this year, above all with respect to improving the situation on the market, and to preparation of the plan for next year. By setting out the program of economic and social restructuring the party has demonstrated its ability to provide answers to the questions of the times, to set out realistic prospects for the further socialist development of our society. Today, too, we have been saying that the program must be implemented consistently and we must mobilize the broadest strata of the people for the purpose of its fulfillment.

We have decided to do certain things, and we are of the opinion that the decision is correct. That is why, for the time being, one must follow the aim with patience and tenacity. Results will not materialize without this. Questions are arising about what restructuring has brought. When discussing them, one must see that the new economic mechanism is not working yet. In fact, we are in a preparatory period. Organizational, legislative, and ideological preparation of the reform is under way; we are becoming acquainted with the conditions in which we will conduct business as of 1 January next year. One cannot expect that by the very proclamation of restructuring all problems will be solved tomorrow. The Central Committee session pointed out several times that we must expect certain complications and problems to arise. We would like to apply new methods of management and not everything can be successful at the very first go. Therefore, we are entering the stage when the old ceases to be valid and the new is not yet functioning. That is

why one has to have a certain kind of patience. However, not the kind of patience that will prevent us from fulfilling the tasks set for the progress of restructuring.

When we talk about restructuring, about what it should bring, it is necessary to clearly realize that social guarantees cannot be built on low performance and on equal remuneration. The purpose of restructuring is precisely to counter and eliminate such phenomena. Personal responsibility is coming to the fore everywhere, especially in the managerial sphere, from the top to the bottom. It is necessary to put an end at every level to anonymous and incompetent decisionmaking. It was rightly said that it is necessary to target tasks on specific persons and not on institutions behind which everyone hides, and to carry out consistent supervision and draw conclusions. We talk about this frequently but albeit we are still not succeeding in promoting this style of work. And little support is still being given to those comrades—including on the part of our organs and organizations—who want to assert and apply such a style of work consistently.

We have to continue to devote serious attention to preparing for the 18th party congress. The main thing to which the entire pre-congress period should contribute is increasing the party's militancy and strengthening its unity and ideological cohesion on the platform of our policy of restructuring and democratization. In order to do so it is necessary to make full use of annual members' meetings and party conferences, and indeed our session discussed these matters at length and rightly so.

It is necessary—and this is especially important—to increase the self-confidence of Communists. There is nothing to be ashamed of. There is no reason for the pessimism and nihilism which is creeping in among party members. We have a specific program. The results we have achieved in the past are not small, although we rightly point out that they could have been greater. The decisive thing, however, is that despite all the problems and obstacles that have emerged we have built socialism in our country.

I believe that it is within our capabilities to cope with the present-day tasks. As a revolutionary party we are duty-bound to preserve and develop fully all enduring values of socialism and to make all-around use of its advantages. This requires that we work well and manage effectively everywhere. It is necessary to believe in our own strength, to have respect for honest work, not to spread skepticism, to raise one's head, and to go forward. This is the task ahead of us.

Discussion at Session Summarized

LD1506165289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1500 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] The 14th Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee session ended in Prague today. The Central

Committee endorsed in a unanimously adopted resolution the report on the party's activity after the 13th session of the party's Central Committee and on its further tasks, submitted by General Secretary Milos Jakes.

It also approved a report delivered by Comrade Frantisek Hanus on checks on implementing the resolutions on scientific and technological development in metallurgy, machine-building, and electrical engineering; the standpoint adopted by the party Central Committee on checking on implementing the resolution on scientific and technological development in metallurgy, machine-building, and electrical engineering; a report on the activity of the Presidium, the Secretariat, and commissions of the party Central Committee since the 13th session in March this year; and an amendment on the principles governing the integration and registration of Communists in primary party organizations in their respective places of residence.

The CPCZ Central Committee noted the reports submitted by Pavel Hrivnak and Karel Julis, members of the federal government, on the fulfillment of tasks in the sphere of scientific and technological development in metallurgy, machine-building, and the electrical engineering industry. It also took note of the political and organizational provisions for the conclusions reached by the 14th session. The party Central Committee instructed party organs and organizations, Communists in the governments and central authorities, economic and social organizations to wage with greater resolve the struggle for a broader utilization of scientific and technological development as the principal way of raising social productivity of labor. By explaining and carrying out the tasks set and by applying effective work methods, they should achieve a consistent implementation of the adopted resolutions; they should galvanize working people for the development of tested and new initiatives focused on higher effectiveness, quality, and economy, and on the fulfillment of the tasks set for the current year; ensure a thorough preparation of the plan for the coming year; and adopt and implement at all levels, measures aimed at achieving a qualitative turn in the machine-building, metallurgical, and electrical engineering industry.

The party Central Committee gave instructions to project the results of the 14th session into preparing for the 18th party congress, annual members meeting and party conferences, and into everyday ideological, educational, organizational, and managerial activity.

At the close of the 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, General Secretary Milos Jakes made a speech.

Siroky Holds News Conference

LD1506205989 Prague CTK in English
1923 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Prague June 15 (CTK)—The special significance of scientific-technological progress for speeding up Czechoslovakia's socio-economic development was

stressed by head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Department for Industry, Transport, and Trade Jan Siroky at a press conference here today.

He said inter alia, that the unprecedented activity of the party Central Committee in the past few years reflects efforts to activate all sections of political and economic life in preparation of the 18th congress of the party due to take place next year.

He said that structural changes in all branches of the economy, in particular the iron and steel, engineering and electrical engineering industries, were of key importance in the restructuring process.

The party representative pointed out that new conditions are linked with the strengthening of international labour division, particularly with the Soviet Union, and with a more extensive use of scientific-technological knowledge from the non-socialist countries. Greater scope will be provided for establishing effective contacts between Czechoslovak and foreign scientific centres, Jan Siroky added.

Events in China Termed 'Internal Affair'

AU1506143289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
14 Jun 89 p 7

[Vladimir Divis article: "Looking Back at the Dramatic Events in the Chinese Capital; What It Was All About in Beijing"]

[Text] That which can be called the "Beijing events" are still fading away and, obviously, the time has been still too short to more profoundly ponder or analyze in detail the individual acts of that drama. Here, in Beijing, and apparently in other parts of China too, many hot heads have not cooled off yet, and with some people a sober assessment of the facts still has not gained the upper hand over emotions. The events, no matter how dramatic, are, of course, the internal affair of that country, which is strong enough and wise enough to find solutions which will be in the interest of the consolidation of Chinese society.

Shortly after 3 and 4 June, when the events in Beijing culminated, some western information media, but also some governments, hurried to dish out advice to and pass categorical judgments on People's China. However, only the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China [CPC], and other political parties, social organizations, and the highest state bodies are entitled to pass judgement.

In an article entitled "What Retards Reforms" (RUDE PRAVO 29 May), RUDE PRAVO dealt with some factors which contributed to the outbreak of one of the most profound domestic political crises since the PRC's founding. However, the culmination of the students' demonstrations and strikes was only in its initial stage then.

The first stage began on 15 April, shortly after the demise of Hu Yaobang, the former general secretary of the party Central Committee (until January 1987), and initiator of many reforms. The initial period of the still little organized students' actions ended on 4 May. Some of the their demands were the "acceleration of reforms" and the struggle against corruption.

The tension in the Chinese capital lessened for a few days then, only to become again aggravated as the consequence of a protest hunger strike by more than 3,000 students at the pedestal of the memorial to people's heroes. The second stage culminated on the night of 20 May, when the PRC State Council and the Beijing City Government decided to impose the state of emergency in some districts of the capital.

The third act lasted until Sunday morning, 4 June, when the Army, in accordance with the state of emergency, occupied Tiananmen Square, thus putting an end to 7-week period of unrest and growing chaos.

In the course of those 2 weeks after the imposition of the state of emergency, the Chinese leadership demonstrated enough restraint and patience.

A gradual differentiation of views began to occur among the students, and the number of demonstrators was decreasing.

However, at that time extremist groups began setting the tone of the demonstrations, the political credo of which was no longer dissatisfaction with the "pace" of reforms, inflation, or the phenomena of corruption, but slogans calling for the overthrow of the present Chinese leadership and the existing political system, and the restoration of the capitalist system in China. It transpired that passing off these demonstrations as a harmless "patriotic movement," as some officials tried to in the Beijing leadership and the Beijing information media, was eliciting harmful illusions. It was more than obvious that the time had come to call things by their correct name and openly expose the antisocialist background of the demonstrations.

Therefore, an order was given to the troops concentrated in the Beijing suburbs to push the core of demonstrators out of the center of Beijing, and establish order there. It happened during the night of Saturday, 3 June. However, the advance of the troops was halted by the demonstrators about 3 km from the square. It was precisely in this atmosphere that both mass vandalism and personal attacks on the troops, who had been ordered not to use weapons, occurred.

Ranking Chinese representatives later affirmed that the majority of students had already returned to their colleges at that time. Nevertheless, a large number of university students in the ranks of the demonstrators took an active part in the attacks on the troops and in the destruction of military hardware. Twenty three students

from that group were killed. At a press conference on Tuesday, government spokesman Yuan Mu said that none of them perished in Tiananmen Square, but in other parts of the city during the preceding and subsequent clashes with the Army.

In Chinese society a discussion has got under way about the causes and consequences of the recent unrest. The analysis, contained in Deng Xiaoping's speech during his meeting with generals of the Chinese Army, serves as the starting point. Differing, often contradictory standpoints resound; views on and attitudes towards individual events are being defined.

On Tuesday [date unknown] the daily RENMIN RIBAO stated that the objective of a number of—also unpopular—measures promulgated in accordance with the law is to contribute to maintaining normal social order in Beijing and other parts of China, to ensure the interests of the state, to protect human lives and property, as well as to ensure the continuation of the policy of reforms, opening to the world, and modernization of China.

All organizations "which fan social unrest and counter-revolutionary disturbances" were banned. All illegal organizations were disbanded, their members instructed to end their illegal activities, and their headmen ordered to report to the police. Illegally possessed weapons and ammunition were being confiscated.

Qiao Shi and Yao Yilin, members of the standing committee of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee, Tian Jiyun, vice premier of the PRC State Council, and other party and state representatives visited, on Monday, the injured soldiers from the units ensuring the state of emergency in some parts of Beijing. According to the NEW CHINA news agency, "ranking officials voiced appreciation for the bravery and high morale of members of the Armed Forces, and their contribution to safeguarding the capital and China's socialist successes."

A consultation of representatives of the CPC Central Committee and the PRC State Council with ranking representatives of the authorities and institutions of the Chinese capital was also held in Beijing on Tuesday.

Chinese Television reported that the consultation was addressed by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, who stated that "some ranking representatives of the CPC Central Committee committed errors and deviated from the party's platform," and that a "number of newspapers and magazines were incorrectly clarifying the liquidation of the counterrevolutionary uprising."

When drawing the balance sheet of the unrest that occurred in the middle of the Chinese capital for almost 2 months, one also must not ignore the considerable economic losses caused the economy by the antigovernment actions. In the first 7 days of June alone, the drop in industrial production in Beijing resulted in losses amounting to 400 million yuans.

What is to be said in conclusion? Above all, that we in Czechoslovakia wish the friendly Chinese people a very quick recovery from this tragic aspect of their history. By the way, the Chinese leadership has let it be unequivocally known that the Beijing events cannot lead them astray from the embarked-upon line, that the road of reforms and the opening vis-a-vis the world is an irreversible process.

Sadovsky Meets Austrian Ministry Official
LD1506215589 Prague CTK in English
1934 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Vienna June 15 (CTK correspondent)—Two-day talks between chief secretary of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Thomas Klestil and Czechoslovak First Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Sadovsky ended here

today. They confirmed the two countries' readiness to develop Czechoslovak-Austrian contacts in the spirit of good neighbourly relations and mutually useful cooperation.

They also discussed topical questions of the international situation, above all prospects for the CSCE process following from the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting and from the negotiations on conventional disarmament and measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe taking place here at present.

Pavel Sadovsky was received today by Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock. They discussed questions of the development of bilateral relations and some problems of the international situation.

Positive Assessment of Gorbachev FRG Visit
*LD1506165889 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1502 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR assesses the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to the FRG as an important contribution to the preservation and stabilization of peace in Europe, the spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, stated in Berlin on Thursday.

The new quality in the relations between the USSR and the FRG, which is testified to by this visit, is the fruit of years of effort by the Soviet Union and its allies.

In accordance with the policies it pursues itself, the GDR supports the aims and principles of securing peace, disarmament, and detente as they were formulated in the joint statement signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl. It shares the conviction that concern for the survival of mankind must be at the center of any set of policies and that war is no longer a form of politics, that one's own security may not be safeguarded at the cost of others. It shares the condemnation of striving for military superiority, and welcomes the viewpoints contained in the statement on the deepening and continuation of the disarmament process.

It regards as particularly significant the declaration of faith on respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty, and security of each and every state, on the right of all states freely to choose their social system, and on respect for the norms of international law. Radical disarmament in the conventional area, as well as the elimination of all nuclear short-range systems and chemical weapons, is the task for today and tomorrow.

Automation Technology Contracts With USSR
*AU0606143489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 1*

[ADN report: "Contracts of R200 Million for Automation Technology"]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Contracts on the mutual delivery of machine tools and other industrial equipment were concluded by the GDR and the USSR in Moscow. At the International "Metalloobrabotka 89" Fair, which is currently taking place, the Machine Tools and Tools Export-Import Foreign Trade Enterprise and the Soviet partner association Stankoimport concluded long-term delivery contracts for more than R200 million.

The GDR will export equipment for metal processing with an increasing proportion of flexible automation technology. The USSR delivers flexible processing modules, computer numerically controlled machine tools, and tools that are destined for the rationalization of production processes in the GDR national economy.

Honecker To Meet West Berlin Mayor 19 Jun
*LD1506171289 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1251 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central

Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, will meet with Walter Momper, governing mayor of Berlin and chairman of Berlin Socialist Party of Germany (West) [SPD], for a talk on 19 June 1989.

Citizens Give Property to State for Exit Visa
*AU1206161789 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in
German 11 Jun 89 p 2*

["H.V." report: "GDR Permits Exit of Wealthy Citizens"]

[Text] Bonn—According to information gained by the Federal Intelligence Service [BND], the GDR uses a very specific tactic in certain cases of would-be emigrants: The authorities provide wealthy would-be emigrants with the opportunity to leave the GDR, under the condition that these citizens first transfer their property to the state.

According to the BND report, this takes place as follows:

—Wealthy would-be emigrants are recommended to withdraw the application for leaving the country before this application is processed.

—The authorities confidentially tell the would-be emigrants that an application for visiting relatives in the FRG would be granted instead.

—At the same time it is implied that the GDR does not expect the would-be emigrants to return from their visit to the FRG.

—Before the permission to visit relatives is granted, the would-be emigrants have to tacitly transfer their property in the GDR to the state in case they do not return.

The BND has repeatedly reported to the Bonn government on corruption within the GDR authorities in connection with permits to leave the country. In one case an FRG citizen paid bribes of DM100,000 to ensure permission for his bride to leave the GDR.

Honecker Attends Pedagogical Congress Openings
*LD1306220989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0807 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ninth pedagogical congress began its discussions in the Palace of the Republic in Berlin on Tuesday morning. With warm applause the 4,300 delegates and guests welcomed Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and other members of the party and state leadership.

For 3 days teachers, educationalists, school officials, friendship and pioneer leaders, academics and representatives of social life will be discussing the past record and future development of the education system in the further shaping of socialist society as the seventh SED Congress approaches

Mittag Conducts Talks With BCP's Filipov

AU1206204789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 9 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Gunter Mittag Conducted Talks With Grisha Filipov"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [8 June], Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], for friendly talks.

Gunter Mittag briefed his guest on the experiences and results in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress in the fields of economic and social policy, as well as on the working peoples' initiatives on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. He talked about the experiences gained by applying key technologies and by continuously perfecting the system of management, planning, and economic calculation in the GDR. Guenter Mittag explained the basic challenges of further implementing the SED's economic strategy in preparing for the 12th SED Congress.

Grisha Filipov informed his host about the implementation of the decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Party Conference of the BCP.

The two partners in the talk noted that the "program on expanding and deepening economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria up to the year 2000," which was signed in September 1987 by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, is being successfully implemented. They stated that there are good conditions for further continuing and deepening this cooperation in the period between 1991 to 1995 as well.

The following officials also participated in the talks that were conducted in a cordial atmosphere: Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, the members of the SED Central Committee, Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Gerhard Beil, minister of foreign trade, and Guenter Ehrensperger, director of the Planning and Finance Department of the SED Central Committee. Petur Mezhdurechki, Bulgarian ambassador to the GDR, was present at the talks.

During his visit, Comrade Filipov had conducted talks in the Teltow Electronic Components Combine, and in the Socialist Economic Management Central Institute, attached to the SED Central Committee.

Hager Meets With PZPR Study Delegation

AU0906113389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 8 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "PZPR Central Committee Delegation Began Study Visit"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [7 June], a delegation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], headed by Marian Stepien, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, arrived in Berlin on a study visit. The delegation was cordially received by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

In a friendly exchange of views, both sides paid tribute to the results of the latest meeting between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, on the basis of which relations between the two parties and states will continue to develop. [passage omitted] Through their activities in the cultural sphere, both sides will support dialogue and cooperation between artists, cultural workers, and intellectuals, as well as between institutions and organizations, with the aim of making a constructive contribution to the struggle for peace and disarmament and to propagating the basic values and ideals of socialism. [passage omitted]

The meeting was attended by SED Central Committee members Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, minister of culture, and Ursula Ragwitz, director of the Culture Department of the SED Central Committee, and by Kazimierz Szablewski, charge d'affaires of the Polish People's Republic's Embassy in the GDR.

Cultural, Scientific Cooperation With Hungary

AU0206142889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 31 May 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Exchange of Views on Cultural Work With Hungary"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The 17th session of the Commission for Cultural and Scientific Cooperation between the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic started in Berlin on Tuesday [30 May]. It purposefully continues the steady exchange of views on the further shaping of the varied relations between the two countries in the fields of culture and science. Focal points of the conference, which is headed by its chairmen, GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Harry Ott and Antal Stark, state secretary in the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education, are, among other things, matters such as cooperation in the theater sector, promoting young scientists, and the work of the GDR cultural centers in Budapest and the Hungarian cultural centers in Berlin.

Sindermann Receives Afghan Parliamentarians

LD1506194189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1437 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR is in favor of a rapid end to the spilling of blood in Afghanistan and supports

the efforts of the Afghan leadership to secure a peaceful future for its people, free of external intervention. This was stressed in Berlin today by GDR People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann to a delegation of parliamentarians from Afghanistan. The guests, headed by Zohurullah Zohuri, deputy chairman of the Council of Representatives, arrived in Berlin this morning for a visit lasting several days.

During an exchange of opinions, the politicians agreed that the first visit by a delegation of Afghan parliamentarians to the GDR is an important step toward developing fruitful cooperation between the supreme people's representatives of the two countries. They stressed the great responsibility of parliaments for securing world peace and the promotion of understanding between peoples. It is important to expand the achieved advances in the area of disarmament and to make them irreversible.

Zohurullah Zohuri explained the course of national reconciliation in his country, which is striving for a settlement acceptable to all sides by means of a dialogue between Afghans. The most important thing now is to stop the armed clashes and for all sides, including the United States and Pakistan, to keep to the Geneva treaties on Afghanistan.

Kessler Says International Situation Complicated
LD1006144589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1438 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—In the opinion of GDR Defense Minister Heinz Kessler, the international situation remains complicated and contradictory, despite visible progress in the struggle for detente and disarmament. On the one hand, the NATO summit meeting yielded certain approximations to the proposals of the Warsaw Pact member states on the limitation of conventional forces in Europe. On the other hand, the development of principally new short-range weapon systems and the strategy of nuclear deterrence are being adhered to, he said in Dresden on Friday.

He spoke at a party member meeting of the Dresden Area (Bezirk) workers-combat groups. On behalf of Erich Honecker, he thanked the combatants and commanders for their great performances in production and in the overall strengthening of the GDR.

"However necessary and correct it is to repeatedly impart a new impetus to the process of arms limitation and confidence-building, nay, to undertake in the interest of detente and cooperation even unilateral steps and advance concessions, it is and will remain for some time necessary to reliably guarantee and keep at a corresponding level the requisite degree of defense preparedness of the socialist states", the minister said.

The GDR has always worked by the side of the Soviet Union and the other allied states committedly and successfully for confidence-building and dialogue, understanding and detente in the international arena.

This is also testified to by the advance concessions in the reduction of the National People's Army and the defense expenditure of the GDR. Army General Kessler said it was the duty of the Armed Forces, the protective and security organs, and combat groups of the working class to defend peace, to preserve the life and the achievements of the working people, and to protect the socialist homeland and worker and peasant power.

Kessler Receives Cuban Military Delegation
AU1406111389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 9 Jun 89 p 9

[ADN report: "Cuban Comrades-in-Arms in Defense Ministry"]

[Text] Berlin—Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense and member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, received a delegation of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces on Thursday [8 June]. It is headed by Division General Rogelio Acevedo Gonzalez, chief of the Political Main Administration.

The friendly exchange of opinion focused on the armed forces' responsibility for the protection of peace and socialist achievements, as well as the deepening of fraternal relations between the National People's Army and the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces. Army General Heinz Kessler referred to the 1980 treaty on friendship and cooperation, which has stood the test in life, and paid tribute to the activities of the political organs and party organizations in the army members' patriotic and internationalist education.

Division General Rogelio Acevedo Gonzalez conveyed cordial greetings from Army General Raul Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba, which were equally returned by the GDR defense minister. Colonel General Horst Bruenner, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, participated in the meeting.

Goetting Meets Visiting Nicaraguan Politicians
AU0906122889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 8 Jun 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Christian Social Politicians from Nicaragua Visit CDU"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [7 June], Gerald Goetting, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], received a delegation of the Nicaraguan Christian Social People's Party (PPSC), headed by General Secretary Mauricio Diaz Davila. Gerald Goetting expressed the close affinity of the GDR's Christian Democrats with the Nicaraguan people, and their striving for national independence and consolidation of a social development in the country based on humanistic principles. The process of coming

to an understanding in Central America justifies the hope that the attempts of outside interference will be completely overcome in the future, and that a durable peace will be secured in this region. The CDU chairman explained the successful alliance policy in the GDR and paid tribute to the trusting cooperation between Marxists and Christians, which has been going on for more than 40 years.

On behalf of his party, Mauricio Diaz Davila expressed thanks for the CDU's varied proof of solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, who are striving for a life in peace, social security, and respect for their national identity. He spoke in favor of a direct solution to the existing problems between Nicaragua and the United States. It is necessary to consistently implement the peace agreements of the Central American presidents and to halt the armed conflicts once and for all.

Legal Aid Treaty Ratified With Finland

AU0206141989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 31 May 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Legal Aid Treaty With Finland Ratified"]

[Text] Helsinki (ADN)—The instruments of ratification of the treaty between the GDR and Finland on legal aid in civilian, family, and penal matters were exchanged in Helsinki on Tuesday [30 May]. The exchange was carried out by Ludwig Schirrwagen, GDR charge d'affaires ad interim, and Eero Kekomaeki, head of the legal department of the Finnish Foreign Ministry. Thus, the treaty will come into force on 29 June 1989.

Deputy Defense Minister Visits Sweden

AU0706200889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Jun 89 p 5

[ND correspondent report: "Swedish Defense Minister Receives GDR Politician"]

[Text] Colonel General Horst Stechbarth, GDR deputy defense minister and chief of the National People's Army Ground Forces Command, was received by Swedish Defense Minister Roine Carlsson in Stockholm on Monday [5 June]. In the friendly talk, both sides paid tribute to the many years of good relations between the two countries' armies.

Col Gen Stechbarth had arrived in Sweden on the same day for a several-day visit at the invitation of Lieutenant General Erik Bengtsson, chief of the Swedish Ground Forces. Lt Gen Bengtsson visited the GDR last year. The GDR deputy defense minister will visit Swedish army units, attend field training exercises, and visit the Haglund and Sons Corporation in Ornskoldsvik.

Kessler Meets DPRK's O Chin-u, Delegation

SK1206041589 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean
1300 GMT 4 Jun 89

[Text] On 1 June, our country's military delegation led by Comrade O Chin-u, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and minister of the People's Armed Forces, paid a courtesy call on Heinz Kessler, minister for National Defense of the GDR.

On hand were deputy ministers for national defense of the GDR: chief of the main staff of the National People's Army, chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, and chief of the Ground Forces Command, and other functionaries concerned.

At the meeting, talks were conducted in a friendly atmosphere. That evening, the minister for national defense held a banquet for our country's military delegation.

Deputy ministers for national defense of the GDR: chief of the main staff of the National People's Army, chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, chief of the Ground Forces Command, and chief of the Frontier Troops Command, general-grade officers, and functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs participated in the banquet.

Members of our country's military delegation and our country's ambassador to the GDR were invited to the banquet.

At the banquet, National Defense Minister Heinz Kessler gave a speech first. In the speech he said that the visit by the DPRK military delegation to the GDR will contribute to further consolidating the militant significance between the armies of the two countries.

He emphasized that under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard unit of the party of Marxism-Leninism, the armies of the two countries will do their utmost to smash the attempts of the imperialists who are trying to threaten and eliminate the socialist system.

Next, Comrade O Chin-u, head of our country's military delegation gave a speech. He said that the friendly and cooperative relations between the DPRK and the GDR is being solidified and developed everyday, based on the cordial friendly relations between the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the respected Comrade Erich Honecker. He also expressed deep gratitude to the fraternal people of the GDR and the military men of the National People's Army for sending constant support and encouragement in our people's great cause for the fatherland's reunification.

He indicated that it is of great significance to continuously strengthen and develop the friendly relations between the armies of the two countries as it will safeguard the peace and security of Asia and Europe.

The participants of the banquet drank a toast to the long life of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, to the long life of the dear Comrade Kim Chong-il, and to the long life of the respected Comrade Erich Honecker.

On 2 June, the delegation inspected a demonstration drill of the National People's Army and were invited to a welcoming mass rally which was held by the Ground Forces Command.

Posted at the front of the rally site were the portraits of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the respected Comrade Erich Honecker. Also hung there were the flags of our country and the GDR. At the rally, speeches were given and congratulatory banners were exchanged. After the rally, an art performance was held.

On 3 June, Comrade Erich Honecker awarded a first-class order of military exploits to Comrade O Chin-u. Orders and medals were also awarded to the members of the delegation on that day.

During their sojourn, the delegation inspected military units and were invited to banquets hosted by the chiefs of the Ground Forces Command and the Air Force Command.

Cambodian Official Visits National Front
AU0706203489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Cambodian Official Visits National Council"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Werner Kirchhoff, vice president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, met with Ros Chhun, general secretary of the National Council of the Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defense [KUFNCD] for a friendly exchange of opinions in Berlin on Monday [5 June]. Werner Kirchhoff expounded to his visitor on the many various activities of the social forces united in the National Front in preparation for the GDR's 40th anniversary. He stated that the GDR sides with the Cambodian people in solidarity at all times. Ros Chhun gave a report on the situation in his country and stressed the KUFNCD's efforts for implementing the policy of national reconciliation. He expressed his thanks for the GDR people's solidarity. The long-term agreement on cooperation between the two people's movements from 1986 through 1990 contributed substantially to the further strengthening of their friendly relations, he said.

Fischer Welcomes Tunisian Counterpart on Visit
LD1406195189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1911 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Tunisian Foreign Minister Abdelhamid Escheikh arrived in the GDR today on an official visit. He has been invited by his counterpart Oskar Fischer, who welcomed him at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport.

Immediately after the welcoming ceremony the two ministers held initial talks.

Relations 'Developing Positively'
LD1506173289 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1106 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Relations between the GDR and Tunisia are developing positively in all areas. This evaluation was reached in a talk today by GDR Premier Willi Stoph and Tunisian Foreign Minister Abdelhamid Escheikh. They reinforced their resolve to develop mutually advantageous and multifaceted cooperation between the two countries.

During the meeting, which was conducted in a friendly atmosphere, Willi Stoph spoke about the successful implementation of the economic and social policy directed toward the well-being of the people. He referred to the positive record with which the GDR is approaching its 40th anniversary. The development of the country is consistently characterized by a unity of continuity and renewal.

Willi Stoph said that indications of a change from confrontation to detente in international relations are hopeful, although at the same time there is still much cause for concern. He reinforced the GDR's commitment to a peaceful resolution of regional conflicts, and praised the decisions of the extraordinary Arab summit conference in Casablanca on the peaceful resolution of the conflict in the Middle East.

Abdelhamid Escheikh talked about the activities of the Tunisian leadership, introduced since 7 November 1987, aimed at the socio-economic development of his country. The result of the recent presidential and parliamentary elections was an unequivocal vote from the Tunisian people for the policy of strengthening democracy, pluralism, and the primacy of lawfulness pursued by President Ben Ali.

The Tunisian minister has been in the GDR on an official visit since Wednesday.

Security Forces Detain Peace Demonstrators
LD1106093889 Hamburg DPA in German 0835 GMT
11 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Some 60 people were detained on Saturday [10 June], by GDR security forces during a street party of peace and human rights groups in the Leipzig inner city and during a spontaneous demonstration afterwards. Most of them were released again during the night after their identities had been established and a fine had been exacted, well-informed circles reported on Sunday in West Berlin.

Members of peace and human rights groups wanted to hold the first Leipzig street music festival, but it had not been permitted by the authorities. However, 15 music groups from various GDR towns and 500 listeners are said to have gathered in the inner city.

It was said that uniformed and civilian police had moved after some time against musicians and onlookers, and had detained 20 participants. According to information, they were taken to a building of the security forces in a truck. In the afternoon a spontaneous demonstration formed in front of this building, at which the release of those detained was demanded. The demonstrators were dispersed by the forces of order. Some 40 people were again detained.

People's Chamber Session Convened for 1 Sep
*AU1206101389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 9 Jun 89 p 1*

[ADN report: "Extraordinary Plenary Session of GDR People's Chamber Convened"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the GDR People's Chamber has convened an extraordinary plenary session of the GDR People's Chamber to Berlin on Friday, 1 September 1989, at 1100, to mark the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II.

'Agent' of 'Criminal' Fuerch Gang Sentenced
*AU0606121989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Agent of the Criminal Fuerch Gang Sentenced"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On 2 June 1989, the Berlin City Court sentenced FRG citizen Sabine Vollmer to 3 years in prison for crimes committed under Section 105 of the Penal Code. As a courier, Vollmer actively participated in crimes of the notorious criminal Fuerch Gang against the GDR.

Fewer Transit Travelers Rejected at Borders
*AU1406120189 Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
in German 13 Jun 89 p 8*

[Text] The number of transit travelers rejected by the GDR has clearly decreased during the first 5 months of this year. According to Berlin Senator Heide Pfarr (Social Democratic Party of Germany), 73 travelers were rejected at the borders, in contrast to 109 during the same period last year. The smooth dealing with the heavy tourist traffic to the Berlin Church Conference by the GDR authorities is also gratifying.

East Berlin politics Professor Max Schmidt warned against "a further economic division" in Europe in view of the planned single EC market. Schmidt, who is the head of the GDR International Politics and Economics

Institute and was scientific adviser in the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany from 1959-73, advocated an expansion of nonmilitary cooperation in Europe. Compared with the security area it is underdeveloped. In this field the GDR is ready for new economic forms of cooperation, such as the expansion of the European energy network.

SPD Official Concludes Talks With Delegation
*LD1006130589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1651 GMT 8 Jun 89*

[Text] Saarbruecken (ADN)—The usefulness of a result-orientated dialogue among responsible politicians, military experts, and scientists of the two German states on disarmament and detente has been convincingly reaffirmed in the "Saarbruecken talks" on matters of European security. This was stressed by Egon Krenz and Oskar Lafontaine at a joint news conference in Saarbruecken today. It was held at the end of the 2-day meeting, to which the Saarland premier and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] had invited a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee led by Egon Krenz, member of the Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council.

Egon Krenz and Oskar Lafontaine agreed on emphasizing the political success of the meeting. The frank exchange of views on matters of European security showed that it is sensible to talk with one another about Europe's prospects, the more so because both German states occupy an important place in East-West relations on account of their exposed position on the line of contact between the two alliance systems. The use of the political weight of the two states in their alliances for the continuation of the process of disarmament and detente, and for the expansion and deepening of cooperation in all spheres in Europe is in accordance with their historical responsibility and is a dictate of the hour.

Oskar Lafontaine said that the intention of the talks is to sound out possibilities for future cooperation and to discuss that which has already been brought about jointly. A further aim is the development of a discussion basis for future dialogues.

The SPD is in favor of a security partnership and considers the concept of structural nonoffensive capability to be a correct defense concept, and rejects strategies which include the use of nuclear systems. For both German states, strategies not acceptable are those that play with the existence of Central Europe. These are clear positions, Oskar Lafontaine stressed, which certainly also further the process of disarmament. He said it is gratifying that the participation of GDR military personnel have brought the discussion further forward. In this connection, he paid tribute to the appearance by

Colonel General Fritz Streletz, who has explained the new disarmament proposals of the Warsaw Pact states. This has been of great interest to him and to the SPD's disarmament experts.

Oskar Lafontaine expressed his regret that no official representatives of the Bundeswehr took part in the exchange of views, although an invitation was extended. Federal Defense Minister Stoltenberg quoted the lateness of the invitation, which was made about 14 days before the meeting, as the reason for not sending representatives.

In conclusion, Oskar Lafontaine stressed that the very objective and far-reaching talks have been successful. No differences have been papered over and the talks have also brought results.

Egon Krenz stressed that the security policy dialogue between the representatives of the SED and the SPD, that was continued with the "Saarbruecken talks" has, in contrast to the impression which certain Western media had tried to convey, again shown a great amount of agreement between the two sides on the basic questions of our time. The talks, which were held shortly after the meeting between Erich Honecker and Hans-Jochen Vogel, have again made it clear that the policy of dialogue can help to create a climate of trust. An important result is that it was agreed, following the example of the "Saarbruecken talks", in future, too, to issue invitations for meetings between politicians, military experts, scientists, and other personalities and to discuss common problems of European cooperation with a view to the year 2000.

As far as relations between the two German states are concerned, everything pointed like a compass needle in the direction of the implementation of the points jointly agreed in the communique of Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG. The decisive thing in the interests of people is that war must never again start from German soil.

The GDR is ready for disarmament at all levels and in all branches of service. In the 1970s, Erich Honecker suggested that political detente be augmented by military detente. The GDR is putting this into practice, as its unilateral disarmament measures prove, Egon Krenz said. We are in favor of each side only possessing as much military strength and means as it requires for its defense.

The precondition for detente is that both sides recognize existing realities and negotiate with one another on an equal basis. No policy that benefits mankind can be made with illusions. No matter what dreams many people might have, there is nothing to unite or to reunite on German soil. Egon Krenz said that the "Saarbruecken talks" have again underscored the significance of cooperation between the SED and the SPD, and have affirmed that the dispute between the ideologies must not be a burden to the efforts for common security.

The good contacts between the GDR and Saarland are a contribution by both sides to the promotion of stable relations between the two German states. It was noted with satisfaction that in the wake of Erich Honecker's official visit to Saarland in September 1987, relations between the GDR and the federal state have continued their stable and dynamic development. Economic relations with Saarland in particular have been the subject of above-average good developments. Egon Krenz also expressed his satisfaction at the state of bilateral relations in science and technology, culture, the health services, and environmental protection.

As is known, the GDR is at all times a reliable partner with whom word and deed coincide in policy. Thus, in the four decades of its existence, the GDR has developed into a strong socialist state and an indispensable factor of the European peace order.

In response to a question, SPD Presidium member Egon Bahr said that the data presented by Col Gen Streletz on conventional disarmament plans by the Warsaw Pact states appears to him to be more realistic than the ceilings so far proposed by the United States. The U.S. proposals could not be implemented as they are, because they do not take into account the other foreign armed forces on the territory of the FRG. If the U.S. proposals are followed, the result would be conventional superiority for the West.

The SPD is interested in achieving stability and balance at a lower level in Central Europe.

Col Gen Fritz Streletz, in response to questions, again explained the Vienna proposals of the Warsaw Pact and, said that the goal of a reduction in conventional armed forces and armaments is to achieve a nonoffensive capability on both sides. This includes the dismantling of tactical nuclear weapons. On these issues they arrived at uniform viewpoints and standpoints in Saarbruecken.

Prof Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD Bundestag group, stressed that it would be a mistake to dismiss the unilateral disarmament measures of the Warsaw Pact states as trifling. A great step has been taken here. Instead of trying to belittle this, NATO should consider with what measures one could respond to it. The SPD politician expressed strong support for the institution of official relations between the Bundestag and the People's Chamber, and said that the rejection of this was a "hypocritical attitude."

Asked about reforms in the GDR, Egon Krenz said that the entire history of the GDR is a history of revolutionary changes, reforms, and reorganizations. But despite all its willingness for reform, the GDR would never permit socialism to be reformed away. "Socialism on German soil is not open to question," Egon Krenz stressed. Moreover, there would be no reforms in the GDR which did not benefit working people.

This afternoon, the SED Central Committee delegation was received by the mayors of Saarbruecken and Neuenkirchen, Hans-Juergen Koebnik and Peter Neuber. During visits to the town halls, Egon Krenz signed the golden books of the towns.

The delegation also had talks with trainees, the works council and the management of the Eberspaecher Company of Neuenkirchen.

At a meeting this evening with representatives of Saarland industry, Egon Krenz and other members of the SED delegation were welcomed by Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Brunhilde Peter. During the meeting there was agreement in noting that trade between Saarland and the GDR has developed, particularly following Erich Honecker's visit in September 1987. Economic relations have become an element of stability for Saarland and the GDR, and also for relations between the FRG and the GDR. The deepening of cooperation in the scientific-technical sphere is an expression of its new quality. The representatives of Saarland also spoke strongly in favor of opening up possibilities for cooperation, and submitted specific proposals for its expansion and deepening.

Egon Krenz stressed that economic and trade relations between the GDR and Saarland have proved to be a dynamic and stable element for overall relations between the two German states.

Relations and contacts in the political, scientific-technical, economic, and cultural spheres have developed in such variety and with such intensity in recent years that, meanwhile, one can speak of qualitatively new features. The GDR, for its part, will do its utmost to encourage this development at all times on the basis of equality and mutual advantage, Egon Krenz said.

State Council Ratifies Oder Bight Treaty
AU1306161789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 9 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "State Council Ratified Treaty With PPR"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On 8 June, the GDR State Council ratified the Treaty on the Delimitation of the Sea Territories in the Oder Bight between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic, which was signed by the foreign ministers of the two countries during the friendly meeting between the leading representatives of the two states and parties, Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, in Berlin on 22 May 1989. The instrument of ratification was signed on the same day by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council. According to Article 10, the treaty comes into force on the day of the exchange of the ratification instruments, which will take place in Warsaw.

Poland Exchanges Sea Border Treaty Documents
LD1306181689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1453 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—The ratification documents of the treaty between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic [PPR] on the delimitation of the sea areas in the Oder Bay were exchanged in Warsaw today by the Deputy Foreign Ministers Harry Ott and Boleslaw Kulski.

The treaty thus goes into force. The foreign ministers of the two countries had signed it on 22 May 1989 during the friendly meeting between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski in Berlin, and it was subsequently ratified by the councils of the GDR and the PPR.

When the documents were exchanged, Harry Ott noted that the entry into force of the treaty fulfilled the task which Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski had set for the joint settlement of the problem. The agreement corresponded to the common political, economic, and security interests of the two countries and that of all the Warsaw Pact countries.

The Polish deputy foreign minister emphasized his general satisfaction with the treaty, which provides a lasting solution to a complicated bilateral problem. It had been made possible through the good will of both sides, mutual understanding, respect for the interests of the partner, and a feeling of responsibility for the historical achievements of the friendly cooperation.

The exchange of the ratification documents took place in the presence of the Polish minister of foreign affairs, Tadeusz Olechowski, and the GDR ambassador to the PPR, Juergen van Zwoll.

Krolkowski Speaks at Agriculture Seminar
AU0906151389

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 8 June on page 3, under the headline "Continuity and Renewal—Characteristic of Our Agricultural Policy," carried 4,000-word excerpts "From the Speech by Werner Krolkowski, Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]," at the central seminar with leadership cadres and practical workers of socialist agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs industry, in Leipzig-Markkleeberg on 7 June.

Krolkowski discusses the great achievements of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry for the benefit of the people and their development since 1949. He notes that "with its policy, the SED has considerably contributed to enriching the theoretical treasure of Marxism-Leninism by creatively applying the general laws of socialist construction to the specific historical conditions of our country, by never losing sight of the national peculiarities, and by taking into account the dialectic of general and specific matters, of national and

international matters in its policy. In the future, too, we will continue confidently and purposefully in our tested path of shaping the developed socialist society on the basis of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, while strictly observing the specific conditions, that is, in the colors of the GDR."

Krolkowski discusses the continuation of the unity of economic and social policy, the priority development of crop production, more efficient livestock production, increased yields everywhere, measures to make the villages more attractive, and close relations between science and practical work.

In conclusion he notes that "the core of our party's work is and remains ideopolitical work. In particular today, the daily trusting talk at the work place and in the residential area is irreplaceable." He calls for a worthy preparation for the 40th anniversary of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress with "concrete deeds for the further strengthening of our socialist worker-peasant state."

Farmers Addressed After 'Agra 89' Walkabout
LD1006144689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1457 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The experiences of the past 4 decades clearly proved that only in socialism did the farmer remain a farmer, did he have a secure future, was he a respected person. This was underlined by Prime Minister Willi Stoph on Friday [10 June], at a meeting with cooperative farmers, workers and agricultural scientists after a walking tour at the "Agra 89," which opened earlier.

The Council of Ministers chairman said that the Agra exemplified that in the agricultural enterprises and in GDR villages, too, the successful course of the unity of economic and social policy is being confirmed. The exhibits shown at the agricultural show testify to that.

In view of the present international situation, this is especially significant, Stoph said. The overall strengthening of socialism and its state power is, and remains, an essential precondition for the safeguarding of a lasting power.

Under the conditions of the continuing existence of imperialism in many parts of the world, the realization of the policy of social progress in peace will continue to depend on the economic strength, political stability, social attractiveness, and military impregnability of socialism. The speaker also said that the process of disarmament and detente should be continued uncompromisingly with the far-reaching disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states.

Willi Stoph referred to the growing importance of the deepening of cooperation in agriculture. It testifies to the great efforts of this economic branch that the GDR achieved, a long time ago, the steady and continuous supply of the population with foodstuffs. And it will remain this way, the premier stressed.

He pointed out that the increase in production went hand in hand with efforts at the further improvement of the cost-benefit ratio, in order to make a bigger contribution towards the national income. Scientific-technological progress and an increase in labor productivity were essential in this.

Scientist on New Approach to Conservatives
AU1406203689 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
RUNDSCHAU in German 14 Jun 89 p 2

[Helmut Loelhoeffel report: "GDR Approaches Conservatives; More Differentiated Assessment of Political Right Wingers"]

[Text] Bonn—Lately, the assessment of the FRG's political right wing by GDR scientists has been more differentiated than before. At a discussion in the Bonn Friedrich-Ebert Foundation on Tuesday [13 June], Professor Ludwig Elm from Jena, director of a research center for conservatism, said that it is wrong to use the concept of "fascist" too extensively. He suggests attaching greater importance to "rightist extremism." Elm classified the Republicans not as neo-Nazis, but as rightist extremists, whose slogans, however, occasionally remind him of "the Nazi party."

Political conservatism was assessed in a too undifferentiated way in the GDR, Professor Elm, who had been a member of the East Berlin People's Chamber for some time, conceded. However, more recent developments and topical events have required new definitions. In his opinion, rightist extremists "are a link" between the right wing of the conservatives and militant and national groups. We basically accept that conservative groups and wings are capable of peace," said Elm, who has also sought the contact with the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation, which is close to the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]. However, his analysis also says that politicians of the CDU/Christian Social Union who cooperate, for example, with the "Germany Foundation" of publisher Kurt Ziesel are "insincere" if they rule out an alliance with the Republicans. Elm wanted to take note of conservative currents only by stating that there are "obstructive and impeding factors and resistance to taking risks."

However, he is concerned about phenomena, such as the "skinheads" or isolated cases of hostility toward foreigners. This has to be "examined more closely" and the question has to be asked: "What are we missing?"

Imre Nagy Funeral Ceremony Begins in Capital
LD1606100289 Budapest MTI in English
0819 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 16 (MTI)—At 4 a.m. on June 16, the coffins of Imre Nagy, Miklos Gimes, Geza Losonczy, Pal Maleter and Jozsef Szilagyi and a sixth coffin representing all other victims of the 1956 uprising, were placed on the catafalque in front of the art gallery in Heroes' Square, Budapest.

The events of this national day of mourning will be broadcast live throughout the day on Hungarian radio and television.

The police guard over the square was handed over the organizers of the Hungarian Democratic Forum at 7 a.m. Order will be maintained by about 3,000 volunteers.

From 9 a.m., relatives, the national board of the Patriotic People's Front and the public will lay wreaths on the biers in front of the art gallery covered in black drapery. In the meanwhile, a recording of actors reading out the list of names of all those who fell victim to the retaliations after 1956 will be played.

The guard of honour at the catafalque was made up, during the first hour, of members of the Committee for Historical Justice. Following in their stead were the relatives, who, in turn, are to be replaced by representatives of the Federation of Political Prisoners and other organizations.

The crowd in a packed Heroes' Square, estimated at more than 300,000, filed past the catafalque to place their flowers.

The president of Hungarian television and two programme directors were among those who laid wreaths.

Justice Committee News Briefing on Nagy Funeral
LD1506212289 Budapest MTI in English
1905 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—The Committee for Historical Justice (TIB) held an international press conference on Thursday in Budapest on the funeral of Imre Nagy and his martyr associates. It was announced that, according to TIB estimates, some 250,000-300,000 people will attend the funeral service in Heroes' Square. Thus the crowd gathering in the square on June 16 to pay its respects to the memory of all innocently condemned and executed victims of 1956 will be larger than for any other programme held in the past. Alongside residents of Budapest, large numbers are also expected to arrive from the provinces.

The organizers prepared for the undisturbed organizations of the ceremony with a detailed programme. Organizing staffs of several thousand will see to the observance of order at both sites, the Heroes' Square and the cemetery.

Leader of the Committee for Historical Justice stressed they had not sent special invitations either to domestic or foreign organizations for the funeral service to be held for the martyrs of 1956, however, they welcomed the participation intention of all organizations. So far, 38 Hungarian, and 22 foreign, or Hungarian organizations operating abroad, have indicated they wish to place a wreath in memory of the martyrs.

The protocol wreath-laying ceremony is to begin in Heroes' Square at 11 a.m. The first to place a wreath will be delegates from Kaposvar, the birthplace of Imre Nagy, followed by wreaths of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the churches and the diplomatic representations. On behalf of the government, the wreath will be placed by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, and Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy.

In answer to a question, the organizers said that although a delegation could not arrive from Transylvania because of the deteriorated Hungarian-Romanian relations, representatives of the Romanian refugees in Hungary will be present for the service, and the Romania Libera will also send representatives.

Also present at the press conference was Bela Kiraly, former commander of the National Guard, who arrived for the funeral of Imre Nagy and his martyr associates from the United States.

Horn on Historical Research of 1956 Events
AU1506141689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 10 Jun 89 p 22

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Peter Sereny: "Khrushchev Urged Soviet Intervention in 1956: Interview With Gyula Horn on the International Connections of 1956"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Our correspondent interviewed Gyula Horn about the international connections of the national tragedy of 1956. The interviewee is a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and secretary of the Political, Legal, and Public Administration Department of the Central Committee. As a member of the so-called Historical Subcommittee, Gyula Horn is responsible for researching the international connections of the domestic developments of the last 4 decades, including the events of 1956-1958.

[Sereny] You mentioned recently that your working group would meet again this month. Can we expect an end to the analysis?

[Horn] I would very much like to reach the end of this research. This is a thankless task because we hurt some people, although we do not intend to. We are carrying out a political analysis and we are trying to reveal the international connections of the events that took place between 1945 and the party conference of May 1988. We would welcome an end to this activity, but I do not know whether we can ever conclude this work. There are too many "gaps" and the archives are incomplete. For example, in the period under analysis, primarily the period after 1956, there was often no protocol on the Politburo sessions, only some sort of summary note from which it is impossible to find out the type of debate and the people's opinions.

[Sereny] What about the foreign sources? You held talks with your Yugoslav and Soviet colleagues a few weeks ago. What help did you receive from them in your search for documents from 1956-58 which are necessary for the work of your subcommittee? Has the subcommittee also turned to other interested parties, like the Chinese and Romanian parties, or to other leading parties in the Warsaw Pact?

[Horn] When I was in Belgrade, we received a package from the Yugoslavs, a package containing documents from their Foreign Ministry. These are extremely important elements, and obviously, additional documents that we will receive from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will complement the documents in the package. Likewise, we count on additional documents from the Soviet Union. As for the other interested parties, we have not yet turned to them so far because we would have regarded the request as unrealistic.

[Sereny] There is a slightly surrealistic part in Khrushchev's memoirs according to which, in 1956, the Romanian leadership offered to help "bring order" in Hungary. Apparently, Khrushchev answered that this had not worked in 1919 either. To what extent is this episode genuine?

[Horn] We are also aware that the Romanian leadership at that time was ready to also contribute militarily to "bringing order in Hungary." [passage omitted]

[Sereny] What are those major new facts and connections that your working group revealed in the course of analyzing the international connections of the national tragedy of 1956?

[Horn] The Soviet leadership at that time dealt with two crises simultaneously; one can also say that the Soviet leadership used one step to compensate for another. The basic fact was that crises and conflicts appeared simultaneously within the two alliance systems, both in the Warsaw Pact and in NATO: the Hungarian and Polish events in the socialist world, and the U.S. conflict with Great Britain and France over the Suez Canal in NATO.

In connection with a Soviet action taken in Hungary, Khrushchev did not have to fear a Western, or more specifically, a U.S. intervention. [passage omitted]

[Sereny] Do we know any details about the debate among the Soviet leadership on a possible intervention in Hungary?

[Horn] There was great debate in the CPSU Presidium over the issue. A Moscow declaration on the principles of cooperation between socialist countries was published on 30 October 1956. This was a very important document on non-interference and respect for sovereignty and independence. At the same time, Soviet troops were returned to Hungary in the night of 31 October 1956, while Imre Nagy or Zoltan Tildy was holding constant negotiations with [Soviet Foreign Minister] Mikoyan and with Soviet Ambassador Andropov. The Hungarian officials had no way of suspecting that their negotiating partners were representing one of the positions within the Soviet leadership, and not Moscow's position. [passage omitted]

[Sereny] According to the position of the MSZMP Central Committee on the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates, the former premier with a tragic fate "has failed in evaluating the international conditions and consequences of his foreign policy."

[Horn] We have not found anything from before 1956 which would attest to any intention on the part of Imre Nagy to weaken Hungary's alliance affiliation. Imre Nagy had good relations with the Soviet leadership, and it is precisely as a result of these good relations that he became premier in 1953. As for the period between October 23 and 4 November 1956, one should consider the fact that the first Soviet military intervention also determined Imre Nagy's situation. If he had wanted to hold out against something, he could not have initiated action against the rebels. Otherwise, he would have turned against the nation, against people who could not stand for the intervention of Soviet troops. [passage omitted]

Demonstrators Urge Soviet Troop Withdrawal
LD1506210389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] The radical faction of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] has organized a demonstration in Budapest in front of the Soviet Embassy. We have just received Mihaly Mueller's report.

[Mueller] In response to the call by one of the FIDESZ groups, several hundred people gathered this evening at 2100 in front of the Soviet Embassy in Bajza Street to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

The group repeatedly chanted the slogan: Russkies go home! They carried banners saying: Our hospitality has limits; The visa has expired; and Go home.

The speakers passionately demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops, recalling the 1956 [word indistinct].

At the demonstration the Republican Circle also demanded that the 17 million forints earmarked for restoring the Lenin statue should be spent on a memorial to the victims of socialism for the past 70 years. The demonstration started peacefully, with a poem by Endre Ady entitled "Greetings to the Victor." There were several people who called this meeting a provocation by the Hungarian hard leftwing. However, one of the FIDESZ leaders called this statement simply ridiculous.

So far, there has been no reaction from the Soviet Embassy which currently has only moderate police protection.

Spokesman Comments on Status of Workers' Guard
LD1506202889 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A government session was held today. After the session, Acting Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok briefed the journalists.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In the future, the Workers' Guard will come only under government supervision. Its numerous tasks in connection with events, ceremonies, and daily supervision, however, will cease. Together with this, it was announced that an interministerial committee will examine in the near future whether the Workers' Guard should operate as it currently does or differently, and perhaps by a different name.

Undoubtedly there is an almost insoluble contradiction between commitments to defending the country and freedom of conscience, said Lajos Morocz, state secretary of defense, at the briefing. This will be resolved by the draft amendment to the defense law. After its approval by parliament, civilian service can be requested on grounds of conscience. This will be the same length of time as that of armed service. This time must be spent in public works, health work, or environmental protection. [passage omitted]

At the request of the finance minister, the government accepted another 5 billion forint savings program. They will reduce the international expenditures of the Defense Ministry by 600 million, and budget expenditures by over 1 billion.

Zsolt Bajnok said that to aid those arriving in our homeland from Romania, three more receiving stations will be created.

[Bajnok] There are currently around 15,000 refugees from Romania staying in our country. Receiving stations will be built in Hajduszoboszlo, Bekescsaba, and Bicske. Those in Hajduszoboszlo and Bicske will take 180 and 300 people, respectively; that at Bicske, which is for those not of Hungarian nationality, and for those who do not have permanent accommodation and work possibilities, will take around 400 people.

[Unidentified correspondent] Over 20 state secretaries and deputy ministers were relieved or placed in new positions by the Council of Ministers. Those without tasks will in the future stay in the government's so-called paid available stock for 6 months until a suitable area of work is found for them or until they find work for themselves.

The government proposes that the Presidential Council close down the State Office for Church Affairs and the State Youth and Sports Office. In place of the former, a National Religious Affairs Council should be formed; in place of the latter, a National Sports Office. These would only deal with so-called administrative tasks. [end recording]

Interior Minister Views New Election Bill
AU1306141789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 9 Jun 89 p 6

[Interview with Interior Minister Dr Istvan Horvath by Laszlo Szabo: "In Harmony With Society—Dr Istvan Horvath on the New Draft Election Law and the Next Elections"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] On behalf of the government, the Ministry of Interior in conjunction with the Justice Ministry prepared a bill on the election of National Assembly deputies, the president, and the local council members, a bill made public by Istvan Horvath. He also sent the bill to various parties and public organizations.

[Szabo] What do you expect from this? Agreement? Or debate?

[Horvath] We expect opinions. I think one can hardly question the fact that the government has been making great efforts to establish a constitutional state. A series of laws created this year proves this. Without trying to set up any hierarchy of importance, I will take the risk to say that the rules regarding the election system have a special place because, in the course of elections, citizens can directly express their opinions about the individual institutions of a constitutional state and also set such institutions up, and at the same time, provide political credibility to the functioning of these institutions. As is well known, the latter, namely the issue of political confidence, is a key issue in our current conditions. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] From elections to elections, the rules of the election system have changed more or less in the past decades. A few months ago, a public debate was carried out about a new bill containing rather important modifications. It seems that the recently published bill is considerably different from the concepts published for debate last year. However, this should also undergo additional changes?

[Horvath] If there is agreement on it, we will institute changes in this bill too. Everyone can see and feel that, today, opinions have changed and the actual political situation has also changed compared to last year when the previous draft was still valid. At that time, we had different ideas about the direction of development of our political system. Thus, the previous bill did not stand the test of public debate because this debate was still following the logic of a one-party system, and it was very correct and democratic in this respect. In my view, the essence of the changes that have taken place since then lies in the fact that our political system is increasingly based on a multiparty system and, although not exclusively, the parties represent a decisive amount of different political efforts deriving from the political distribution of our society. Therefore, the parties should also become the focus of the election system. In the current bill, this requirement is expressed primarily in the fact that, although not exclusively, the parties will have the right to nominate candidates. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] Many people claim that it is too early to focus the elections on parties because they are still in the organizational phase, and, according to the experiences of last year's social debate, most of the population is sticking to the right to nominate candidates directly. Can the bill solve this contradiction?

[Horvath] Concerning the state of the parties, the new bill could influence this precisely by placing the parties in the focus of the election mechanism. At the same time, this bill could also help them define themselves, organize, and determine their relations with other political forces. From this point of view, it is an important requirement that the procedural rules of this bill should provide correct and equal chances to all these parties. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] The MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] itself has opened up the way for the natural social processes and for the restructuring of political institutions. As a member of the MSZMP Central Committee, what is your opinion about the opportunities, chances, and election tasks of the party currently in power in this new election configuration?

[Horvath] As a politician active in state administration, I see my main task today in working toward the establishment of an election system which, as a result of a correct and democratic procedure under public control, will lead to the establishment of legitimate bodies that represent the people. This is also in the interest of the

MSZMP. As to the election chances of the MSZMP, all I can say is that, if the renewal in the party takes place quickly and consistently, the planned party congress will be able to submit a program to the nation which the people will find worthy of voting for. Of course, for this, we need genuine leaders and candidates that enjoy the confidence of the people.

Article Comments on Romanian Debt Repayment
AU1206073689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 7 Jun 89 p 7

["L.Z."-signed article: "The Great Repayer—Meditation (Also) on the Romanian Debt Servicing"]

[Text] There should be no doubt about it: We are talking about debts, and this time not only about ours, but also about the debts of the Ceausescu-style Romanian leadership. The title of "great repayer" was earned by him, the "glorious son of the Romanian nation," in the Western press. Here, in recent months, we have been writing and talking mainly about what hurts us, about the—who knows how many?—2-3 million Hungarians who found themselves on the other side of the border. However, this time I will not write about this, but rather about the Romanian debt servicing, and not just because of local experiences, but also because of economic considerations. This also affects us, albeit not so clearly. I want to write this time about the way a stringent regime that is gradually becoming more inflexible is capable of repaying its debts of \$10 billion in a forcibly accelerated pace and at the cost of starving its own population.

The Almighty Took Charge

We heard from the world press that masses of celebrating people took to the streets all over Romania a few weeks ago because an announcement was made in Bucharest: The country succeeded in repaying all its foreign debts! Obviously, some celebrating people were sincerely happy and thought that this would now put an end to starving, freezing in winter, and to medicine shortages. After a short time, to their astonishment, they realized that nothing would come out of this either, and that it was the Almighty that provided the generous warmth because springtime has come. However Ceausescu, labelled as the "great repayer," forced his nation to pay a big price for his heroic feat of doubtful value. In addition to the clearly noticeable difficulties of everyday life, the miserable condition of the economy also proves this. The megalomaniac but inefficient production installations erected with the help of Western technology in the seventies have been idle for a long time because the imports of raw materials and spare parts were banned. Thus, Romania must have achieved the \$4 billion foreign trade surplus necessary for debt servicing in 1988 only by means of a forced export of agricultural products at dumping prices and by the aforementioned ban on imports, rather than by exporting industrial goods.

The Tragedy of Forced Exports

This course continues and so do forced exports and the ban on imports. To quote U.S. Senator Moynihan during a recent visit in Hungary, all this is a comedy of the Ceausescu-style Romanian socialism, at least as far as the economic rationale is concerned. However, aware of the living conditions of the 23 million people in Romania, one should speak of tragedy, rather than of comedy. Besides, the great show of the "great repayer" is more of a conjuring trick. The claim that Romania has repaid all its debts is not true; Western sources continue to write about a net debt of \$2 billion. However, even if the Bucharest regime had repaid the billions it loaned and wasted itself, one would still ask the question: What next? Rumors have it that, from now on, Romania will emerge as a net creditor, that is, it will use its trade surplus for providing foreign credits, rather than for covering its domestic needs. Does one need to make any comment on this? Or on the fact that Ceausescu is nowadays canceling the credits of \$100 to \$200 million dollars that he had previously generously given to Third World countries to consolidate his own world policy role, and that he is canceling these credits with a despotic gesture of an omnipotent lord. Nor do we need to make any comment on the fact that he continues to provide such credits that will never be paid back to everyone who is willing to sit with him at the negotiating table. The foreign trade surplus achieved with sweat and toil probably goes to such credits, while one hears that every day people die in Romania because of a total shortage of antibiotics that cost a pittance.

This Cannot Be a Hungarian Model

Why am I writing about this? Not in order to expose the economic conditions of the totalitarian regime that are spreading throughout our southern neighbor. There are enough people who do that at every possible forum all over the world nowadays. Many people might think that one can extricate oneself from the mud by such means too, and do not see that, by doing this, they get into more mud....

Perhaps there is no need to prove that the time has come to ponder how to manage our debt crisis in Hungary, too. We will soon have a \$20 billion debt, and not a debt of \$10 billion which we repaid. A ruling party model could come into sight: "We do not need all kinds of time- and money-consuming pluralist shows here, but we need order, discipline, and production. Joint forces and resources, a will of steel, a strict saving discipline, and repayment and repayment...." These are seemingly nice thoughts, but here is the example in our neighborhood: Look where all this can lead if the goal of repaying one's debts becomes a means of rigidity and regression.

Therefore, one cannot recommend this Romanian model wholeheartedly to anyone. Hopefully, the slowly decreasing spiral of the Polish debt crisis will not reach

us either. We must try to follow the narrow, but still open path which could lead us out of the Bermuda Triangle of financial, economic, and political collapse. Besides, even if narrow, this path is known and used. Several dozens of developing countries have successfully advanced on this path in the past decade, under conditions of a market economy. One should make use of the still available bits of confidence, both at home and abroad, in order to have means and materials to produce, and not to be forced to sell for a pittance; in order to honestly repay our debts. Just like that.... So that people and things do not continue to exist at the price of a "downward restructuring" of human life and values.

One has to pay the bill, but the price makes a difference....

Danish Parliamentary Delegation Ends Visit LD1506201389 Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—A delegation of the Danish Parliament, led by Speaker Erik Ninn-Hasen, visited Hungary at the invitation of Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly. On Thursday, the Danish delegation held talks with F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council.

The delegation then held an international press conference. Mr Ninn-Hasen said he highly evaluates the social transformation taking place in Hungary. The delegation was able to meet with representatives of the opposition. They were convinced that Hungary is realizing a democracy based on the multi-party system, and strives to closely cooperate with the West European countries, the Common Market and the Council of Europe. The members of the delegation stressed: In their evaluation, many opportunities exist to develop economic and other relations between the two countries.

The delegation left Budapest on Thursday afternoon.

Consumer Price Statistics Published AU1606125889 Budapest MTI in English 1132 GMT 15 Jun

[Text] Budapest, June 15 (MTI)—Since last April, prices in Hungary have gone up by a total 16.2 per cent.

The rise for January was 11.7 per cent, for February 15.1 per cent and for March 15.5 per cent. The average for the first four months was 14.7 per cent, "MAGYAR HIRLAP" quotes from the Central Statistical Office report.

From April to March, prices rose by a further 1.4 per cent. Foodstuffs, beverages and tobacco account for 40.5 per cent, flat, heating and lighting for 16.7 per cent, and clothing for 8.8 per cent, of personal expenditures.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Begins in South
LD1506221289 Warsaw PAP in English
2026 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Walbrzych, June 15—In line with earlier announcements, some units of the northern group of the Soviet Army temporarily stationed in Poland began pulling out of Poland.

The first unit to be withdrawn was an independent automobile battalion. The farewell ceremony took place in Swidnica near Walbrzych, southern Poland. The Soviet soldiers have gained many friends here. In participating in joint training and cultural-educational undertakings with soldiers of the Polish Army from units stationed in Silesia, the Soviet soldiers each day gave an example of Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms.

The farewell ceremony with the Soviet friends was attended by numerous residents of Swidnica, representatives of local authorities, activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship society, delegations of work establishments, former combatants, youth. Soon afterwards, a column of about two hundred Soviet military automobiles headed towards Terespol where the Soviet soldiers will cross the Polish border, returning to their fatherland, to Belorussia.

Another unit of the northern group of the Soviet Army, a training tank regiment, will be withdrawn from Poland in a dozen-so days.

Commentary Lauds Gorbachev's Soviet Congress
AU1606122389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
12 Jun 89 p 6

[Wieslaw S. Debski commentary: "The Answers to All Questions Must Be Sought Within the Framework of Socialism"]

[Excerpts] The marathon congress which took place in the Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin and which lasted for 16 days held Soviet society spellbound. [passage omitted]

All the discussions were pervaded by a desire to improve the organization of Soviet society and to maximize the benefits which could be drawn from socialism. The answers to all questions, even the most difficult questions, must be sought within the framework of socialism, said Mikhail Gorbachev in his closing address.

The congress also showed that broad discussion, democratization, and openness, bring about an enrichment of thought, through which emerge differences of interests of various social circles, and divergences of views on various problems. This does not, as has been shown, lead to a dismantling of socialism or a weakening of the state, but allows well-thought-out and well-grounded decisions to be made.

This was undoubtedly a congress of the center. The discussions and the results of most of the voting showed that the deputies rejected proposals for changes which in their estimation were too radical, but they equally rejected proposals to slow down the tempo of perestroika. The deputies supported the process of gradual transformation and of clearly marked stages in economic and political reforms.

It was also Gorbachev's congress. Nearly all the deputies gave him their support in the voting for the chairmanship of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Throughout the whole congress he resolutely carried through his program. What few critical moments there were he managed to overcome by the force of his personal authority and where necessary, by an appeal to the majority of the deputies. As Gorbachev later stated, the congress taught him and all the participants of this unusual forum a great deal.

Students Demonstrate Against PRC in Wroclaw
AU1606072889 Paris AFP in English
0256 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 16 (AFP)—One thousand young people held a silent, torch-lit procession through the streets of Wroclaw, southwest Poland, Thursday night to protest against the bloody repression of student demonstrators in China.

Police made no attempt to intervene as the young Poles placed flowers on a symbolic monument erected earlier representing a cyclist crushed by a tank.

Sources said that more than 20,000 people have so far signed a petition organised by about 100 young people camping beneath the monument which condemns the Chinese Government for its "bloody revenge".

Further on French Leader's Official Visit

Mitterrand Meets Lech Walesa
LD1506180889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Today, in Gdansk, we hosted French President Francois Mitterrand. [passage omitted] After a short stroll in the old town, the next item on the agenda was a meeting in town hall with the city authorities, during which Francois Mitterrand said:

[Begin Mitterrand recording in French, with superimposed Polish translation] Mr Mayor, ladies and gentlemen: Arriving in this large and beautiful city, I and my traveling companions have become objects of particular interest. This pleases us greatly. We are very moved. I would like to thank you for the very significant presents—books concerning your magnificent past, medals, [words indistinct]. This morning, we began this visit [words indistinct] Westerplatte. This was like a sudden trip into history, which we all experienced in our own way. When the first gunshots resounded there, it meant

Poland's and the whole world's entry into World War II, and it was precisely there, at Westerplatte, that we were able to assess the defensive capability and patriotism of the Poles. And then we entered the town, and it was, like a piece of history with all those rebuilt streets, houses, squares. This is an time which will stay in our memories. [applause] [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] The official part of the visit ended with this. Next, Francois Mitterrand met Lech Walesa at a joint dinner at the Hevelius Hotel. The visit to the Gdansk coast ended with the laying of flowers under the monument to the shipyard workers and at the cemetery of French soldiers.

From Gdansk French President Francois Mitterrand went to Krakow.

Walesa Holds News Conference
LD1506221889 Warsaw PAP in English
2041 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Gdansk, June 15—Following a meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand today, Lech Walesa held a short press conference for Polish and foreign newsmen. Also present was Bronislaw Geremek.

Walesa said that during the talks with Mitterrand he presented "Solidarity's" point of view on the situation in the country. "I think that we were able to win the president over to our concepts which hold that Poland should be helped and that it is worthwhile helping her, with help understood as starting direct economic cooperation. We also presented our projects which we are elaborating. These are projects which are more of an economic nature rather than ensuring freedoms or democracy. At present we are thinking about introducing greater pluralism into the economy. But this is not for us to tackle but for Poland, particularly the Polish Government. On matters in which reforms proceed in line with society's and our perception we will assist our government in implementing the right directions and trends of development," Walesa said.

Asked for his attitude towards the plan of assistance for Poland announced by President Mitterrand, Walesa stated: "Our experts are looking into this. I am glad because I know the president to be effective and seeing political effectiveness we are counting on economic effectiveness."

Walesa deemed the fact that a head of state officially laid a wreath at the foot of the monument to fallen shipyard workers as great honour and reason for pride for Gdansk.

Rakowski Meets With Wroclaw Party Aktiv
LD1506210789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski visited Wroclaw today. At noon he visited the Low Temperature Institute, and then he met with the city and voivodship party aktiv in the Warszawa theater: [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] Mr Premier, you have arrived in Wroclaw at a time when French President Francois Mitterrand is in Poland. Why have you left such an important guest?

[Rakowski] I have come to Wroclaw because I have to meet the party aktiv and to present to them our point of view on the situation created after the first round of elections.

[Second unidentified speaker] You seem to be very nervous about this meeting?

[Rakowski] Not at all, I am never nervous before any meeting. But this does not mean that I am treating it lightly.

[Second unidentified speaker] Wroclaw Slask theater. What do you expect from today's meeting with the premier?

[Third unidentified speaker] I hope that the premier will give us some idea of the government's activity after the first round of elections in new conditions, and on cooperation with the opposition in implementing the reform. [applause]

[Fourth unidentified speaker] All of us party members got what we deserve for our poor stance and our lack of understanding.

[Rakowski] I think rightly so. I think that one should speak openly and when at the rostrum, replying to various questions, I thought that one must not beat about the bush, and always say: Yes comrades, we are not satisfied, but.... One should talk as one sees a given point. This does not mean that a politician says everything he thinks all the time, but when one is meeting with party members, with the party aktiv I think one should be completely frank. [end recording]

Discusses Elections
LD1506220189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1803 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Speech by Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in Wroclaw on 15 June during a meeting with secretaries of enterprises and basic party organizations—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades. The first round of elections to the Sejm and Senate ended in success for the opposition. We suffered a defeat. It was more severe in terms of

mandates than in the votes of the electorate, testifying to the scale of public support. We accumulated quite a few of these votes. This particularly concerns the National List. Of the 35 persons on it, 21 gained over 48 percent of the votes cast in the whole country. Within the ranks of the coalition, within the ranks of our party, we tasted the bitter taste of defeat. Attitudes of apathy, despondency, and lack of faith in our chances appeared. But there are also those members of our party, and to them above all I appeal today, who are convinced that we must courageously face the new situation, not resign from the struggle, because they believe that the painful defeat may be transformed into success, perhaps tomorrow or the day after.

I am with them and will remain with them. The political pendulum has moved back to an extreme angle. This was caused by the public reaction to the faults in the method of governing, dissatisfaction with standards of living, and disillusionment with regard to many unfulfilled promises of the authorities. All of this inclined many Poles to give us one-sided assessments, and to tie exaggerated hopes with the opposition. This bad atmosphere for us will pass. This bad moment will turn out to be just an episode. I will stay with those who do not break down over a momentary defeat, because I was a participant and witness to social and economic transformations which took place in Poland after World War II at the initiative of the radical left, the Polish Workers Party [PPR], and its continuation, the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR]. There is something to defend and something to fight for.

I will stay with them because the policies that we are conducting meet the strivings of the nation to life in a democratic, strong, and socialist Polish state. That is why we must not take offense under any circumstances at our compatriots who consciously chose not to vote for us. An analysis of the causes of the defeat will, without a doubt, occupy much space. Once emotions subside, these analyses will become more reliable.

We are determined to account for this without inhibitions till the end, to be self-critical, and to draw proper conclusions. The party leadership has no hesitations in this matter. Neither have I. But I would like those PZPR members who remained impassive during the election campaign, remained at home and did not go to the polling stations and above all those who voted for the opposition candidates to reconcile this with their own consciences. The aggressiveness that the opposition displayed during the election campaign which was shown in the everyday repeated instructions on whose name to cross out, in the calls of "Down with the commies," in the support of a large number of priests for the opposition candidates, overwhelmed many of us. The massed attack of the political adversary took many of us by surprise. After all, the elections were to be nonconfrontational. We said: The best must be elected. The opposition said: Cross out everyone who does not belong to

us. Therefore one can say that to principally different approaches to the elections have appeared. Which was the more moral one? Let the electorate answer this question.

We must also frankly admit that we have forgotten how to conduct political struggle. The comfort of the many years' of exercising authority—mainly singlehandedly—has induced us to laziness. Today's most important question is: Does this defeat mean that the trend toward reforms and accords was not the right one? Does the agreement reached at the round table—the agreements—weren't they right and beneficial for Poland? Or maybe the trend was right but initiated prematurely? Maybe we should have waited longer?

Such questions are asked within the party among our supporters, in broad circles of society. This is understandable. These questions arise from the shock of the defeat.

How can we respond to these questions? I think that the policy of accord and reforms was and remains correct. There is no other rational alternative. The electoral failure resulted not from too many reforms, but, conversely, from the unsatisfactory consistency of their implementation; from the fact that they were late and not early. The lack of consistency is our common achievement; the party leadership, the government, and thousands of managers of different positions. It is not possible to do everything at once, but not everything that is late can be explained.

From a distance but with deep feelings we watch the drama taking place in China. Is it not possible that the events in Poland could have evolved in a similar manner had it not been for the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, the talks at the round table, and the elections?

The agreement is the success of our party and the forces allied to her. It has historically a greater dimension than the electoral failure. However difficult it may be for us, we must not forget that the world of socialism has entered a new phase of its development. It is characterized by the conviction, already tested in practice, that the model of socialism shaped by Stalinism should have been rejected and a new one searched for not yesterday or today, but a considerable time earlier. This search is the entry onto a road where often, there are no clearly legible road signs. There is no such theorist or practitioner who could afford to give an unequivocal reply to the question: Which way to go so as to lose nothing and to gain much? We justifiably chose the road to political democracy, but we did not manage to fully adapt our daily activities to the conditions of democracy.

This did not depend just on us. The structures of the state, which are created by people, are resistant to that which is new, customs, habits, the arrogant, soulless

attitude to the citizen, the suppliant fear before independent decisionmaking—these are only some of the impediments to development and progress. We may find people who put a brake on things not only among ourselves, not only among those who regard themselves as supporters of the government-coalition camp and who voted for its candidates, but also among supporters of the opposition, also those who, giving assurances to the public as to their boundless love for democracy, in practice are not bad tyrants.

Over the last few years, the opposition walked under the banner of pluralism. During the election campaign, in very many cases, it manifested monopolistic inclinations. It is we who turned out to be the real advocates of pluralism, and I often come across opinions today that we even exaggerated this pluralism, particularly in the method of choosing candidates. The government-coalition camp started out in the elections in far more unfavorable conditions than the opposition. Visually speaking, we went up a hill with a sackful of stones, and next to us, Lech Walesa and his team ran energetically with an empty sackful. Our stones are the mistakes made in the last decades, the dramatic and tragic meanders; for several years now, the unfavorable economic situation, the debt, the lines, the hardships of daily life, and so forth.

Being guided by the assumption that the elections would be nonconfrontational, we did not place in the lag of Lech Walesa's team a ballast in the shape of all those deeds of Solidarity in 1981 which caused the triumph of anarchy over law and order. We did not put there the results of mindless strikes which increased the disintegration of the economy; we did not reproach them for their childish and naive view of Poland against the background of other states, close neighbors. But in 1981, Solidarity played with Poland's sovereignty, and could, in existing conditions, cause its loss. We did not remind them of the support given by Solidarity leaders for restrictions applied against Poland and the ensuing results.

We did not call to mind those facts. Under the circumstances, it seemed wrong to count on successful results in the first stage of elections. Was it avoidable? Partly, yes, if we had seen in time the threatening danger, but we did not see it. In view of this, does the Polish saying "Wise is a Pole after damage has been done" apply here? I would not agree with it. The sources of our weaknesses are varied, some go back to the distant past, some to recent years, both in attitudes and style of work. Some others go to the election campaign where sharp unrelenting methods used by the opposition were not met with a similar determination by us. I am convinced that all the causes of failure will be deeply analyzed at the announced 13th plenary meeting of the Central Committee. By courageously looking at our own weaknesses, we have a chance to move forward. Today, the following question is asked by many comrades and sympathizers of our party: Are there still conditions for the successful continuation of

the policy of reform and accord? In my view such conditions exist, despite the fact that after the first round of elections, the situation has become more complicated and more difficult. How do I justify my assessment? The round table prepared a several year program for the transition from the system in which power is executed by only one political camp, namely ours, to political democracy in which influence on policy, and a chance for the execution of power, will belong to all forces which enjoy real influence in the community.

The program provides for the maintenance of a defined and agreed disposition of forces between the governing camp and the opposition. The disposition would provide for the evolutionary reconstruction of political conditions towards democracy, the gradual lifting the the country from economic crisis, and the reformation of the economy.

It will be possible to achieve the goals to which you aspire, I heard from one politician accompanying President Mitterrand yesterday, if your partners from the opposition will adopt a sensible, considerate, and realistic attitude. I have nothing to add. As far as the opposition is concerned, one can address very many questions to them, first of all about their ideological and political face. There are various oppositions, both inside the system and antisystem. It would be interesting to know what Solidarity wishes to become, in what sense it is a trade union, and in what sense a political force? To blur the differences is very dangerous, and can be disastrous for the economy. In this place I wish to add that regardless of the composition of the new government and who will form it, it is certain that it will have to undertake the solution of problems with which we have been struggling, and it will have to build on what we have initiated.

One should not believe those who say that they have a golden key to solve the contradictions and difficulties existing in the economy. The only real key that can be used is better and more productive work, and readiness for sacrifices today in order to have a better tomorrow. Let us return to the round table; its program, from its very inception, is difficult and unprecedented, it may constantly threaten to a hit an impasse where neither the government will be able to govern successfully nor the opposition take over power. Hence, the responsibility of both sides to achieve the implementation of this difficult agreement is thus greater.

Thus, we should express satisfaction that with the loyal cooperation of opposition leaders, we were able to find a way to prevent the danger of violating round table decisions due to the 33 vacant mandates from the national list. This is a good forecast that the observance and implementation of round table decisions today constitutes the main condition for the successful development of our country. In the ranks of the party and among its allies the question has also arisen of whether we have the indispensable ability to fulfil our duty to Poland, whether we can exercise

authority while the opposition exists in cooperation and rivalry with it. The situation of Poland has for some time been such that the best form of rule would be a joint government of all the forces in the parliament, and thus a great coalition. This is what we propose. This is what would be best. For the time being, the leaders of the opposition camp have not taken a clear stand in this matter. We cannot discount that it is a question of time, talks. However, it is possible that we will have to continue to be responsible—together with our allies, although in new conditions—for the executive authority, and counting on a constructive attitude of the opposition in the Parliament and outside it.

In any conditions, the opposition must accept coresponsibility for the state, for the political reform, and for the improvement of the economic situation of Poland. This coresponsibility should take the form of cooperation with the coalition. The leadership of the opposition, I think, understands at the same time that irrespective of the roundtable accords, it cannot take over from us the exclusive responsibility for Poland. Also, radicals inside the opposition within Warsaw Pact countries, who are supported by NATO governments, should understand that the politicians' rule would be threatened by a dangerous conflict and destabilization in Europe, in Poland, and in the world.

In both situations, whether it be within the framework of the great coalition, or under conditions of the deviation of the government and opposition camps in parliament, the historic duty of our party remains to create democratic socialism, free from all the relics of Stalinism, and open to all realities of the contemporary world. Formally, we have an indispensable basis for that. Together with our allies, we should have the majority in the Sejm. It will not be a monopoly but the majority. This is better and healthier.

After all, it is not only formal considerations that determine political effectiveness, but real strength, active actions, and a combative spirit. The program determines this strength—here our position is strong. We came out with such a program during the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee initiating a historic turn. Conditions for such a turn have been maturing for years. To the glory of our party—it is necessary to record—it had intellectual strength as well as boldness without which such a turn was not possible.

It determines public support. We must fight for this. It would be the greatest mistake if we succumbed to a mood of resignation and the sinking of the spirit. In the second round of the elections, we must fight for the votes of the electorates, for a high turn-out, and for support. The renewal of the party itself is decisive, freeing itself from the ballast of old habits and the old style of activity. We can afford to make of our party a modern, left-wing ideological and political movement, which will gain the wide backing of society, will draw to it the progressive youth and progressive intellectuals. We will also attract

new allies from among those who fear that the success of the opposition carries the danger of the formation of a new single party. Truly partner-like relations between allies will determine strength—with the United Peasant Party, ZSL, and the Democratic Party, SD, and with organizations of lay Catholics. In the past, these relations varied. Our allies, in daily cooperation with us, often did not perceive this partnership. There is much that we still have to change in this matter. The coalition requires strengthening on the basis of real equality. And finally, strength will also be decided by a loyal attitude to the opposition, the ability of the PZPR to come to agreement with and cooperate with everyone who extends his hand in friendship to us.

Esteemed comrades. We are calling all Poles to the ballot box. Two weeks ago, the elections partially had a plebiscite character, and partially that of a rivalry between two groupings, two political forces. Now, as in overtime, the end of that campaign will be decided, but at the same time, those deputies of our party and its allies will emerge from among the candidates who did the best in the first round. This is an important matter, not only for our electorate, but for all Poles, for the whole of society, and those elected on 4 June along with those who will be elected in several days time will together form the legislative authority, and will determine the form of the executive authorities of our country. Without our Party, without the whole of our coalition, it will not be possible to establish democratic socialism in Poland.

It is not possible to continue the process of transformations, begun several years ago. We must remind you that the round table didn't come out of thin air. It was not a chimera that suddenly appeared. It was the result of many democratic actions, which were the work of the PZPR and its allies. Our initiative opened the road to transformations in this direction. Our participation is a prerequisite for a relatively collision-free, evolutionary passage of these transformations, which is safe for the state.

One does not need much imagination to understand that Poland has found herself at such a point on her historical road that no one along will be able to lead her to safety, neither the so called government side, nor the opposition. This can be done together, with great effort. We do not wish to weaken the opposition, but we say openly: It is not in the interest of the people, and should not be in the interest of the opposition to weaken the forces which wish to continue to build socialism in Poland under conditions of renewal and democracy, and which demonstrate the political will to undertake this objective. We are expecting difficult months and years, we expect many great political and economic battles, we must keep cool and have strong nerves. Let us not be carried away by emotions, let us ignore demagoguery, let us not bend our heads down. We must adopt a fighting stance. [applause]

Rakowski Announces Election Non-Participation
AU1606085989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
13 Jun 89 p 3

["Statement by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic"]

[Text] In the 4 June election, I obtained 8,213,671 votes as a candidate on the national list. I thank from the bottom of my heart all the Poles who gave me such wide support. However, these votes were insufficient to secure me a seat in accordance with the election rules adopted by the Ninth Sejm.

All the social forces involved in the "roundtable" have recognized the need to implement these rules fully. On the basis of this consensus, the State Council has issued a decree whereby all the Sejm seats on the national list that remain unfilled after the 4 June election will be contested in a runoff election involving new candidates.

In view of the situation that has emerged after 4 June, the question of contesting these seats in a runoff election has become the chief topic of the day. Many politicians and ordinary people from the ruling camp, opposition, and Catholic circles have urged me to take part because they accord me personal recognition, because of superior public interests and the good cause of accord and the policy of reforms, and because of the need for reformers and "roundtable" constructors to be present in public life.

I am very grateful for these very numerous expressions of confidence in me. I fully subscribe to the views and arguments that have been put forth. I wish to serve the cause of reform, socialism, and democracy in Poland. I will never cease to do so.

However, in my conviction, public service can be performed effectively only when the independence of decisionmaking is preserved in every situation and when personal dignity and integrity remain unblemished. That means that it is necessary to preserve these values and implement the "roundtable" accord and policy of reform at the same time, while respecting the wishes of the electorate.

Therefore, I have decided not to take part in the runoff election. I am not withdrawing from public life. On the contrary, I will serve my people with all my strength at every position to which my party and the state's constitutional authorities appoint me and which I feel capable of holding. This is not connected with my presence in parliament. Also on the opposition side and in the Catholic camp, there are a few prominent figures who will remain active in public life without being members of the Sejm.

The reforms, which would be in danger if there were a failure to adhere to the "roundtable" commitments, lie close to my heart. I am pleased that this concern is also

shared by the leadership of the "Solidarity"-opposition camp. I am convinced that this danger will be dispelled by the new candidates put forth by my party and other allied groups for the 18 June runoff election, candidates who are full of commitment for the sake of the accord and reforms. I have complete confidence in them. I believe that the voters, especially those who voted for me, will also support them.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski [no titles given]

Solidarity's Michnik Previews Round of Elections
LD1506210589 Warsaw PAP in English
1715 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Warsaw, June 15—In a lead of the GAZETA WYBORCZA (ELECTION GAZETTE) Solidarity daily today, Adam Michnik comments on the second round of elections. Excerpts:

"We will vote, naturally, for Solidarity candidates in the first place. We must elect them, because we must be as strong as possible in the National Assembly.

"However, we will also vote in order to choose our adversaries and partners—adversaries that will respect the principles of political competition and partners who will prove capable of evolution, which will make it possible to build a democratic order. For such is the logic of our situation that only in cooperation with the reformatory wing of the authority camp we can build institutions of democratic and free Poland without violence and blood, without war and revolution.

"I am of the opinion that the government side took into account the will of electors and came to a compromise resigning from naming people from the national list as candidates. We must cast our votes having in mind what will be after the elections. We will be doomed to seeking such a type of relations between the president and the government that will respect the intentions and will of the electors, secure stability for Poland, open people to hope and will be credible for Western and Eastern partners," Michnik wrote.

LE FIGARO Interviews Wojciech Jaruzelski
PM1606084889 Paris LE FIGARO in French
14 Jun 89 p 44

[Interview with Polish head of state Wojciech Jaruzelski by Charles Lambroschini in Warsaw—date not given]

[Excerpts] LE FIGARO: What do you expect from Francois Mitterrand's visit to Poland?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: We attach great importance to this visit. It illustrates the traditional ties of friendship between our two countries. But it is also the reflection of the current situation in Europe and the world. It is the sign of the openness which is now facilitating relations

between East and West. This visit marks an important stage in Franco-Polish relations after the period of regression which these relations experienced over recent years.

So much so that France has fallen to sixth place among our trading partners. We have many things to rebuild. But Poland's ambition goes far beyond this simple observation. We want to raise relations between our two countries to an unprecedented level. In view of its role in the world, it is impossible to believe that France does not share this ambition.

LE FIGARO: Are you counting on France to obtain new facilities from your Western creditors with regard to the Polish debt which totals \$39 billion?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: During Prime Minister Rakowski's visit to Paris, President Mitterrand told him that France was prepared to speak on Poland's behalf, especially in the framework of the Paris Club. All kinds of remedies can be envisaged to help us overcome our problems: rescheduling the debt, restructuring loans, lowering interest rates.... We know that if France so wishes, it can be a good advocate.

LE FIGARO: What solution would you prefer? The redemption of the debt by private capital from abroad and hence the privatization of some Polish enterprises, or public aid which could constitute another Marshall Plan?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: In general, neither of those two solutions. But perhaps elements from each. The main line to which we must adhere is that of benefiting the most from our own efforts. Simply to pay the interest on our debt, we have to sacrifice half of our export revenue. How can the Polish economy develop in these conditions? What we prefer is the rescheduling of the debt. We will therefore be able to continue to import and give our economy a chance of getting a second wind.

LE FIGARO: Can your desire for a special relationship with France be explained by the desire not to limit your relations to the FRG alone, particularly in the economic sphere?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: We do not limit our relations to Germany alone. For centuries we have had to face a very specific situation. We had enemies on each of our borders. For the first time in our history, we are surrounded only by friends. We have the USSR, a world power, which guarantees our borders. This puts our relations with the FRG in a particular light. Close relations between Poland and France are an important contribution to the stabilization of Europe. In the sixties and seventies we were able to talk about special relations. Since then the situation has deteriorated. But I have high hopes that we can rebuild what existed between France and Poland.

LE FIGARO: With whom do you intend to form the government? All the prominent people on the government side who negotiated the roundtable agreements with Solidarity were defeated in the first round of the elections in Poland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: In France, a minister does not need to have been elected a deputy. This is also the case in Poland.

LE FIGARO: But what credibility can a defeated minister have?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: All the ministers who were candidates found considerable support among public opinion. Of all the leading figures on the national list, it was the ministers who obtained most votes. You know, these elections were in fact a plebiscite: for or against Solidarity. If the Solidarity label had been stuck to a horse's head, the horse would have been elected. Therefore, the way in which the ministers were defeated is not shameful for them.

LE FIGARO: Do you envisage cohabitation with Solidarity within a government in which your camp would only maintain the ministries of the "private domain" to use the French expression: the defense and foreign affairs ministries?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: The cohabitation formula has been used in France. But it cannot have been completely successful because the French have changed the formula. At all events, we are open to any solution. We have proposed a broad coalition. We are prepared to accept major opposition participation in government. But I do not want to say more. This must all be the subject of private talks with the opposition.

LE FIGARO: Would you agree to the communist party losing power one day?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I was asked that question when I visited Belgium. I was asked that question when I visited Britain. All the journalists asked me that question. I gave the same answer to them all. As a party member, as party first secretary, I would be a masochist, I would be courting disaster, if I was prepared to envisage the party being ousted from power, and that it should be forced to give up deciding the country's future.

Instead, I will make every effort to ensure that the party stays in power. But, of course, I will do so through parliamentary democracy. I am convinced that we are committed to such bold reforms that they will make the party attractive.

LE FIGARO: Your defeat in the elections is nonetheless a bad omen.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: The West has always criticized us for our lack of democracy. But we lost the elections because we behaved like democrats. In each constituency, Solidarity put forward just one candidate. We put forward 10 against them in each case. Our candidates clearly competed with each other. In the past, Solidarity defended pluralism, whereas the government only had shameful arguments to use against it. Now, the roles are reversed. The opposition fought the election like a monolith. We fought on the basis of pluralism. As a general, I envy the discipline shown by Solidarity's cadres.

LE FIGARO: Within Solidarity itself there are people who said, after the election results, that giving 10 percent of the votes to the party is not a step on the path to transition, but a call for martial law. Could Poland revert to a policy of force as has just happened in China, on the communist government's orders?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I would like to remind you of the precedent of martial law in Poland in December 1981. The decision which was made at the time was a tragic one for me. Such a decision is only justified if the country's very foundations are threatened. We must make every effort to prevent a return to such a situation. We must prevent an extremist situation from arising. Together with the opposition, we must make every effort to avoid the degeneration of a process which might suddenly prove uncontrollable. It is only then that a situation in which anything is possible is likely to arise.

LE FIGARO: Who were the extremists in Beijing? Was it the students or the government?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: It was the situation which was extreme. I have too few facts to accurately assess the problem. China is a vast and mysterious country. I can only lament what happened. Moreover, I am opposed to interference in another country's internal affairs. I do not want to go any further on this subject.

LE FIGARO: In December 1981 did you ask yourself this question: I have sent my compatriots to prison, how can I therefore lead them?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I would like to make a point. Nobody was sent to prison. Some people were interned, in other words they were subjected to an administrative procedure which made it possible to isolate a section of the population. Moreover, Lech Walesa was quickly moved from his first place of internment to a very comfortable castle. If I am ever interned, I would like to live in the castle in which Walesa was housed. There is a pool where I could fish. But I do not want to give anybody ideas. A canary in its cage continues to sing. However, it does not have its freedom.

You know, in 1981 the population accepted martial law very calmly. There was no really violent resistance. You know what the Poles are like, they are quick to mount the barricades. Well, no such thing happened. The atmosphere quickly became calm again. The population were tired of empty shelves in the stores and constant strikes. They took martial law well. [passage omitted]

LE FIGARO: Are you not afraid that your party's defeat in the elections will result in a destabilization of Gorbachev? It will be easy for the Soviet president's opponents to say that reforms led to the students' protest in Beijing and Solidarity's victory in Warsaw.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Poland embarked first upon the path of reforms. It has therefore taken a lead. It is a testing ground for the other socialist countries. This experiment which is bearing all its fruit in Poland is useful and encouraging for the USSR. Of course, our setbacks have the contrary effect.

LE FIGARO: But Gorbachev could fall because of these setbacks.

Wojciech Jaruzelski: Gorbachev is very courageous, very strong, and very powerful, but, it is true, history has known personalities of equally great stature who have nevertheless fallen. But the combination of Gorbachev's personal qualities, the fact that restructuring meets a real need, and the confirmation that Gorbachev has the support of the majority of the Soviet population make me rather optimistic. I am confident that all this will enable Gorbachev to surmount the most difficult moments. The reform movement in the socialist bloc is not just a fashion, a passing whim. I regret only that this movement began so late. Personally, I believe in Gorbachev's victory. [passage omitted]

LE FIGARO: Do not the reforms which the socialist bloc is implementing show that it is the West which has won the ideological struggle with the communists, because it has imposed its idea of freedom?

Wojciech Jaruzelski: I believe that everything that assailed freedom was contrary to communist ideology. The "Manifesto" expresses a philosophy of humanism. The French people, who have Robespierre behind them, should also recall that the new world which emerged from the French Revolution did not have just good points to it. You have had 200 years to see your revolution's consequences through to the end, and that has not always happened gently. There was no immediate victory for freedom, equality, and fraternity in your country. It is as well to recall this on the occasion of the bicentennial of 1789. Stalinism was a complete degeneration of the communist movement. We are returning to our movement's origins. What is happening now is not the failure of communist ideology but its rebirth.

Ceausescu Continues Visiting Farm Units
AU1506194289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1747 GMT 15 Jun 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit in Farm Units"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/06/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, paid a working visit to farm units in counties in southern Romania.

Continuing the series of analyses made these last few days in various counties, the party's general secretary analyzed on the spot in an ample dialogue with experts and working people of cooperative producer farms and state agricultural enterprises basic issues of organization and unfolding in good conditions of the operations in the current campaign, in view of the conclusion the soonest of the cereal harvesting, of performing in due time and adequately all works planned, for the taking in of record plant productions this year.

The visit covered the cooperative producer farm of Rociu and the state agricultural enterprise of Leordeni, Arges County, the cooperative producer farm of Jugureni and the state agricultural enterprise Cornatelul under the joint state and cooperative agroindustrial council of Bilciuresti—Dimbovit County, as well as the cooperative producer farm of Gherghita under the Draganesti agroindustrial council and the state agricultural enterprise Puchenii in Prahova County.

During the visit, the first secretaries of the county party committees, executives of the respective units presented data referring to the agricultural patrimony, the land improvement works, the dynamics of the farm production by sectors and cultures, the development of the technical-material base of agriculture. Presented was also the way of action for the implementation of the priority programs established for that basic sector of the Romanian economy.

President Nicolae Ceausescu analyzed also together with the experts, with the working people in the fields the steps taken for the soonest harvesting of the cereals, for the transport and storage in adequate conditions of the crop, for clearing the land and seeding the double cultures.

Highlighting that the units in the visited counties had conditions for taking in bigger farm productions, the RCP and Romanian state leader appreciated the activity done requesting that everything be done for the attainment of the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

Likewise, in the discussions with the members of the county party bureau, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that efforts had to be made for the integral fulfilment of the plan in all economic units, so that in

industry and agriculture alike, just as in all the other sectors, the respective counties may contribute more to the country's general progress.

Anniversary of Romanian-Soviet Relations Marked
AU0706173389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1541 GMT 7 Jun 89

["Under the Sign of the Romanian-Soviet Friendly and Manifold Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 7/6/1989—It is 55 years on June 9 since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Romania and the USSR, political act of utmost importance in the chronicle of traditional links of friendship and solidarity between the two countries' peoples.

The relationships between Romania and the Soviet Union reached a new, higher stage, after working people led by the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] had seized the power in Romania. In this period, the rapports between the two countries have strengthened and developed continuously. This course is an organic part of Romania's foreign policy, which focusses on the continual broadening and deepening of friendly cooperation and solidarity with all socialist countries, with the neighbour socialist states first of all. Against this background, Romania is highly appreciative of the broadening and deepening of the manifold collaboration with the Soviet Union.

The Romanian-Soviet rapports develop in keeping with the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in home affairs, mutual advantage and comradesly assistance. A decisive importance in their growth had the summit meetings and talks in Bucharest and Moscow between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Mikhail Gorbachev, in 1986, 1987 and 1988. The understandings reached then, mostly the long-term development programme of economic and technico-scientific collaboration until 2000 set the framework of mutually advantageous collaboration, provide orientations for the harmonious development of Romanian-Soviet links in all fields.

As a matter of fact, in the last twenty years, the USSR was Romania's major commercial partner, carrying more and more weight in its economic links in recent years. This five-year period, 1986-1990, goods exchanges are to grow 70 per cent as to 1981-1985. Romania exports to the Soviet Union products of machine-building industry, mostly oil-drilling and gas equipment, ships, machine-tools, technologic equipment for the chemical, petrochemical and metal industries, rolling stock, tractors and farm machinery, a wide range of metal products, sodium-chloride products, lacquers and dyes, construction material, consumer goods, garments, knitwear, furniture, etc. It imports from this country machine-tools, technologic plant for the power and paper and pulp industries, lifting and conveying

machines, equipment and material for shipbuilding and aircraft engineering, petrol, natural gas, electric energy, iron ore, rolled steel, coking coal, asbestos, apatite, wood, pulp and cotton and some consumer goods. Romania takes part in several cooperation ventures in the Soviet territory for long-term deliveries of iron ore—Krivoy Rog, pulp—Ust Ilinsk, electric energy—south Ukraine power station, natural gas—Orenburg and Sovetabad. The two countries signed a large number of accords and conventions on cooperation and specialization in production in machine-construction, aircraft, chemical and petrochemical industries. Both countries work to substantially increase trade exchanges and mutually advantageous economic cooperation as compared to previous years.

Romania and the Soviet Union develop their collaboration in science and technology, to faster introduce the latest gains of technical progress in the two countries' economies. Collaboration grows along a parliamentary, mass and public organization line and also in culture, arts, education and other domains, and also in culture, arts, education and other domains of mutual interest.

Romania and the Soviet Union intensify their CMEA collaboration to achieve the covenanted programmes, which should contribute to the settlement of the major problems in these states' economic development and to the implementation of the complex programme of technico-scientific progress of CMEA-member countries until 2000.

Romania and the Soviet Union work internationally, with the other socialist countries, with the progressive, democratic forces everywhere for the achievement of disarmament—nuclear first of all—the peaceful, negotiated settlement of interstate disputed issues, the establishment of a climate of detente, security and peace, understanding and cooperation in Europe and the world over.

On the 55th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic links between Romania and the USSR, the whole Romanian people is most satisfied with the fruitful, increasingly growing course of Romanian-Soviet links, convinced that the links of close friendship between the two countries will further develop steadily, in accordance with the longstanding traditions of friendship and collaboration, to the mutual benefit, in the interests of the general cause of socialism and peace.

MSZMP Marxist Unity Platform Opinions Noted
AU1506130589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
11 Jun 89 p 6

["From the Foreign Press—Daily NEPSZABADSAG on the Opinion of the MSZMP Marxist Unity Platform"]

[Text] As reported by the daily NEPSZABADSAG [12 June], the central organ of MSZMP, the movement "The Platform of the MSZMP Marxist Unity" held a meeting

at the Danuvia Gorki House of Culture in Budapest. NEPSZABADSAG reports that this meeting of communist workers issued the opinion of the movement and stressed the following:

"We notice with deep concern that our society has reached a dangerous turn. Forces that deny all successes achieved in the past 40 years are organizing and asking for the reestablishment of bourgeois relations. These forces are working to change the system and, instead of ensuring the Marxist renewal of the MSZMP, they call for its transformation into a Western-type socialist party, that is, a social-democratic party. The new leadership of the party, without consulting the party members, has made decisions in an illegal and incompetent manner on many fundamental political problems, has denied the objectives and the basic ideology of the party, and has departed from its natural basis, the workers class, peasantry, and the progressive intelligentsia. As a result of it, the political leadership, under the banner of reform, has led the way to extreme social injustice, to an uncertain existence, to the poverty of the masses, to political and ideological confusion, and, by spreading the false myth about the people's participation in management, as a matter of fact, they try to place the state and cooperative property into the hands of a small group of capitalists. We protest against the reprivatization of factories, the land, and forests, and against putting the country up for auction. We do not accept unemployment, pay without work, and a pension system that, on one hand does not ensure the minimum needs, and, on the other hand, grants excessively high pensions. We demand that the means of production be returned to the real civic ownership of producers. We state that only an MSZMP that truly relies on the masses of working people can pull the country from this crisis. In this respect the party should be renewed and its leadership changed. We support the Platform of MSZMP Marxist Unity and we express our adherence to this movement; at the same time, we ask all the members of this party to enhance this position.

Officials Lay Wreaths at Poet's Tomb
AU1506163389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1422 GMT 15 Jun 89

["Wreath-Laying at Mihai Eminescu's Tomb"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 15/6/1989—On Mihai Eminescu centennial, a floral wreath from Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, was laid at the poet's tomb in Belu cemetery of Bucharest, on 15 June.

The wreath was laid by Manea Manescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, vice-president of the State Council, Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive

Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, foreign affairs minister, Barbu Petrescu, first secretary of the Bucharest City RCP Committee, mayor-general of Bucharest City.

Floral wreaths were also laid from the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, the National Council of Science and Education, the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Union of Writers, the Central Council of the Trade Union Confederation of Romania, Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth and the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania, National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization, Union of Fine Artists and the Association of Artists in Theatrical and Musical Institutions.

Groups of young pioneers laid bouquets of flowers.

Flowers were also laid by foreign guests who attend the events marking the Mihai Eminescu centennial.

Numerous men of letters, Bucharest residents were present at the tomb of the great poet.

Development of Bucharest City Reviewed
AU0706173789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1521 GMT 7 Jun 89

["A Modern Capital City"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 7/6/1989—Romania's capital city, the Municipality of Bucharest, is the largest economic, cultural and scientific centre of the country. It was given this status in 1859 when it was asserting itself in the political and social life of Romania and was witnessing fast development. But the big city on the Dimbovitza's banks saw most spectacular expansion in the postwar period, after the accomplishment of the historical act of 23 August 1944. In these 45 years, Bucharest has developed its industrial potential becoming a major manufacturer of Romania. At the same time it asserted itself as a city of science, culture and education, a universe of the arts and creation, a big metropolis in full swing.

In the present-day Romanian economic landscape, Bucharest city dominates through its performance and high-technology industries. The Bucharest enterprises turn out 12.9 per cent of the total value of the country's industrial output owing to the building of large industrial districts like Dudesti with medicines, dyes and other chemicals manufacturing enterprises, Militari with units producing electric heaters, metallic equipment, prefabs for construction, the electronic district of Pipera, Berceni with machine-building and heavy equipment enterprises, "23

August" with machine-building units, Baneasa where aircraft are manufactured and many others. The city also boasts large enterprises which produce a wide range of industrial equipment, including farm machinery.

All this contributed to the ever-growing industrial output of Bucharest. At the beginning of 1988, for instance, it was 6.2 times bigger than that achieved in 1965. Starting 1982, the main share in Bucharest's production is held by machine building and chemistry: 55.9 per cent. Several industrial products are exclusively made in the capital city: electronic computers, black-and-white and colour television receivers, 330 mw turbines, harvesters, integrated circuits, silicon semi-conductors, hydraulic diesel locomotives, and others. In the last twenty years the Bucharest industry assimilated about 10,000 machinery, equipment, and installations, nearly 14,000 consumer goods and materials.

In accordance with the future development programmes, the capital city's industry is to turn out a production worth 280-300 billion lei in 1990.

The city's industrial growth has intertwined with urban development. In a relatively short period of time, Bucharest has acquired a new urbanistic status. In the last two decades more than half a million flats were built in new residential districts whereto over 1.4 million people moved. New residential districts emerged on the town's map like Titan, Drumul Taberei, Berceni, Baneasa, Pantelimon, Militari, genuine satellite medium-sized towns provided with the due facilities to give residents high comfort. Usefulness, beauty and the economical harmoniously preside over the new achievements and the future projects. This year alone, more than 44,000 flats will be built, of which 12,000 in Ilfov agricultural sector, especially in the localities subordinated to the big city, which recently became agroindustrial towns.

The vast housing construction programme which required great investment efforts radically changed the old urban configuration characterized in the past by comfortless dwellings, inappropriate road network and insufficient facilities. To remedy such an anachronical situation in compliance with the new economic and social realities, special stress was laid on the development of public works. Large roads built and modernized in the last few years crisscross the city. The sewage and water supply network just as district heating extended.

Romania's capital city has seen deep-going changes. The wide-scope urban redevelopment shows in the large residential districts, boulevards and markets, in the city's being a vast building site. In 1988, for instance, work started on the new residential district in Victoria Square and Stirbei Voda, Vitan, Plevnei, Titulescu, Buzesti, which sum up thousands of flats.

Yet, the most important project in the focus of town planners, which crowns the work carried out to develop the Romanian capital city and turn it into a great

metropolis, is the new political and administrative center, standing in a vast zone in the middle of the municipality. About to be completed, the new center imposes itself owing to its modern, original architectural features: large public and residential buildings, green areas, etc. The large "Victoria Socialismului" Boulevard makes the spine of a set of roads dominated by the imposing House of the Republic. Here, as well as in other zones, construction is going on at the National Library, the National Museum, the National Center of Socialist Creation and Culture, adding to which are the National Centre of the Councils of the Workers' Revolutionary Democracy, new shops and commercial centres, parks and recreational zones.

Adding to the picture are other distinct, original buildings, erected in recent years, such as the Palace of the Republic, the Exhibition Pavilion, the Polytechnic Institute, Otopeni International Airport, "Intercontinental" and "Bucuresti" hotels, etc.

Also integrated into the urban dowry is a number of underpasses which tellingly express the ample effort made to change Bucharest. Again remarkable are the modern food marketplaces erected in various districts.

Adding to these most important units characteristic of the great metropolises has been, since 1979, the subway, which now covers nearly 50 km. This year a nearly 10 km long new mainline is to be commissioned. According to town planners the subway route is to be approximately 60 km long in 1990, linking the main districts and residential areas.

An attraction for the guest of Bucharest is the Dimbovitza, now a clean river harmoniously meandering along contemporary architecture. In the western part of the town the Dimbovitza Lake has been developed on a 240 hectares area, while in the southern part the Vacaresti Lake is taking shape for recreational purposes. The river is being developed along all of the 10 km it takes to cross Bucharest down to the point where it merges into the Arges, the capital thus turning into a Danubian port.

One cannot speak of Bucharest without mentioning its rich cultural and scientific life backed by as many as 12 higher learning institutes with 33 faculties and some 60,000 students, by numerous research institutes, nine dramatic companies operating throughout the year, some of them in two or three theatres, by an opera house as well as by a large number of cinema halls, museums, libraries and other important cultural and artistic institutions, sports bases, etc.

Harmonious Socioeconomic Development Viewed
AU1606083789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0747 GMT 16 Jun 89

[*"Harmonious Economic and Social Development by Territorial Units"*—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 16/6/1989—Romania's chief goal is to have a modern economy harmoniously structured by branches and territorial units. Such an

option was imposed by the precarious condition of the Romanian economy immediately after the Second World War and by the discrepancies in the development levels of various areas and localities. To remedy such a situation that negatively bore on the population's working and living conditions great efforts were required which virtually showed in the high accumulation rate—nearly one third of the national income. With this as a basis, a large number of production units were built and distributed across the country which made economically backward areas develop at a dynamic pace. The industrialization process stepped up considerably after 1965, when 180 new industrial districts, nearly 2,000 enterprises and some 8,000 farming and industrial units were built. This led to the setting up of at least 4-5 industrial centres and to an about fourfold growth of the total volume of economic activities from 1968.

The less developed counties saw high economic growth rates. While over 1968-1988 industrial production increased more than fivefold in the national economy as a whole, in some counties it grew still more. So, for instance, in Salaj County it rose 18 times, in Bistrita-Nasaud County 15 times, in Olt and Vaslui Counties 11 times, in Vilcea, Calarasi and Tulcea Counties 9 times, in Arges, Botosani and Covasna counties upwards of 8 times. Twenty years ago there were 28 counties with a volume of economic activities worth up to 20 billion lei. There were only eleven counties which exceeded such a level. Now all counties achieve over 20 billion lei, some even 100 billion lei, worth of economic activities.

The growing share of industry in the economy of each county was paralleled by the structural improvement of industrial production by branches. So, in 1987 metallurgy, machine-building and chemistry held an over 50 percent share in the industrial production of 18 counties compared with only five counties in 1965. Conditions were thus provided for all counties to reach a minimal level of 50,000 lei worth of industrial production per inhabitant.

Agriculture also saw a marked growth in all counties. The investment efforts made in this basic branch of the national economy gradually led to bringing all regions closer to one another in point of mechanization degree, land improvement, and others. Consequently, agricultural productions grew with every passing year. More than 30 million tonnes of cereals were obtained in the last few years.

An outcome of industrialization, the grade of employment heightened sensibly in all counties. At the end of 1987, 489 persons in 1,000 inhabitants were active in the sphere of material production or in other fields of activity. The share of the working personnel in industry also grew, with rates beyond the country's average being registered in such counties as Salaj, Calarasi, Vilcea, Tulcea, Botosani, Olt and Vaslui.

The impetuous economic development by territorial units went hand in hand with a vast urbanization and modernization process in rural and urban settlements. Now Romania has 265 towns and municipalities, of which 28 were proclaimed towns this year owing to their high productive and agricultural potential and appropriate urban facilities. In the last 24 years, 3.3 million flats were built just as a great number of houses in the countryside, which enabled 82 percent of the country's population to live in new homes. Both towns and villages benefit by numerous learning, cultural, health, rest and recreational units, large shopping areas, which brought about a radical change in the people's standard of living.

Given the qualitative transformations in the life of Romanian society and the new requirements for territorial and administrative development, the Parliament passed a new law this year in spring regarding a better administrative organization of the territory. Its provisions stipulate the further and more marked growth of industry, agriculture, services, socioeconomic activities and public works in all localities and counties, which provides prerequisites for the administrative-territorial units to turn into powerful economic and social centres apt to ensure their residents ever better working and living conditions, improved training, health care, a.s.o. [and so on].

Development on Nonconventional Energy Sources
AU1606084189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0757 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 16/6/1989—More than 31,000 tonnes of conventional fuel are saved every year

in the southern County of Olt where the sun and biogas are the chief non-conventional sources of energy.

The methods and technologies used here to develop these two cheap and non-polluting sources of energy were the basis of an exchange of experience on an all-country level sponsored by the National Committee for Science and Technology jointly with the Committee for the People's Councils Affairs in the town of Caracal.

Among the local projects that aroused the participants' interest were a multipurpose storage unit with a capacity of 4,500 tonnes of grains where flat-plate absorbers extend on 1,180 sq. m. to save more than 100 tonnes of diesel oil a year, and a biogas daily with a technology developed by experts of Bucharest's Waste Water Treatment Research and Design Institute. [sentence as received]

Romania's non-conventional sources of energy are the object of a programme sponsored by the National Committee for Science and Technology. The new sources of energy are behind savings of 430,000 tonnes of conventional fuel in the 1981-1985 five-year period and of 300,000 tonnes of conventional fuel in the first two years of the on-going five-year period. Geothermal energy is the major alternative to conventional sources of energy with roughly 65 percent of the total, followed by biogas and the sun with 15 percent each. The energy-giving potential of biogas and geothermal waters is expected to be fully developed by the year 1990.

Vojvodina Agricultural Workers To Protest 20 Jun
AU1506151289 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] At the protest meeting in Novi Sad next week, agricultural workers will demand a change in the position of agriculture and point out to the Yugoslav public that food production is threatened. Journalists were told this today at a session of the initiative committee organizing this meeting. Nikola Bulatovic has the details:

[Bulatovic] Vojvodina agricultural workers will point out to the Yugoslav public at the protest meeting on 20 June that a wrong agricultural policy over many years has undermined food production and the country will soon be threatened with shortages.

It was said at today's session that there is virtually no [word indistinct] area in the country with more unimplemented plans and that the liberalization of agricultural prices without any government guarantees only adds to the confusion.

The peasants are also addressing agricultural workers in all regions of Yugoslavia. It is being made known to the public that the position of peasants is the same throughout the whole country. The announced reform does not guarantee any improvement whatsoever. On the contrary, agricultural workers are the only category of worker which is defined in the law.

According to everything that is happening in agriculture, it seems that food is the easiest thing to produce. The whole chain of middle men, including processors and traders, all the way to the consumers, live in luxury at the expense of those who work the land, as well as those who have to buy the (?food) at such high prices.

Kosovo Youth Attacks Slovenia, President Resigns
AU1506154189 Ljubljana Domestic Service
in Slovene 1300 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] The session of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation was very stormy today. It discussed the relations in Kosovo. After a protest walk-out by the Slovene representatives, and after the Presidium refused to censure the speech by Kosovo Youth President Redzep Hodza—who proclaimed Slovenia the main culprit for the situation in Kosovo—President of the Presidency Branko Greganovic and Secretary Anita Bara have irrevocably resigned. Greganovic said in this connection that there is a limit to everything. Matjaz Albrecht reports briefly on the session of the Yugoslav youth leadership:

[Albrecht] At today's session, which concerned a review of the implementation of the conclusions and stances on Kosovo, Redzep Hodza began his speech visibly disturbed, after having left the session room several times.

Although he said at the beginning that because of the speeches made by representatives of the Slovene youth, he would change his speech, he began reading his prepared text.

He accused the entire Slovene politics, both official and alternative, of having caused the present situation in Kosovo. Among this kind of initiatives he also ranked the latest suggestion by the Slovene youth to internationalize the Kosovo problems. This is the tip of the iceberg, he said, that can be reached only by a cynical and nebulous policy leading to the abyss. [sentence as heard]

Because of the so-called preservation of Slovene originality and of the state sovereignty of the Slovene land, Slovenia has for a long time been conducting an untoward anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav campaign, whose aim is the separatist strivings of the Slovene natiocracy [naciokratija]. This policy builds its progressive traits on anti-Serbian paranoia.

At these words by Redzep Hodza, the Slovene representatives walked out. It should be mentioned that in their speeches, they had advocated the publication of Lazar Mojsov's speech, after which the Assembly adopted emergency measures in Kosovo; they had demanded a revision of the assessment about a counterrevolution in Kosovo, and of the assessment of the legality of the isolation measures. If these measures were illegal, it was proposed to the Yugoslav Youth Presidium that it should initiate criminal proceedings against the violators.

More on Greganovic Resignation
AU1506131889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Branko Greganovic, president of the Yugoslav Youth Federation, tendered his irrevocable resignation at the session of the Youth Presidium today.

Every man, including myself has a limit that cannot be crossed, Greganovic said expounding on his resignation. He tendered his resignation after a tempestuous debate in the Presidium concerning dissociation from some views or the entire speech of Redzep Hodza, president of the Kosovo Youth. Hodza said that the policy of Slovene Youth Organization concerning Kosovo is cynical and unclear, that an inappropriate anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav campaign is being launched and that such a policy is enjoying the support of the mass media.

After this speech, Branko Greganovic suggested that the Presidium should dissociate itself from Hodza's speech, but only he and Anita Bara voted in favor of this proposal.

Drnovsek Says Isolation To 'Cease Very Soon'
AU1506195589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12 Jun 89 p 1

[D.D. report: "Isolation Will Soon Cease"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Jun—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has replied to an open letter from former internees of the Bilec and Ivanjica camps, Milan Apih, Rudi Cecinovic, Pepca Kardelj, Vili Maurer, Lojza Cepek, Vencelj Perk, Anica Vipotnik, and Ivan Bratak.

In their open letter, the former internees said that they were "revolted by the fact that real concentration camps had recently been set up as an isolation measure like in fascist states and during the bloody Stalinist terror." Drnovsek replied that as an ordinary person and as president he was aware of the difficult economic, political, and social situation and interethnic relations but he understood that such a situation cannot be permanently resolved by using force.

Drnovsek said that as a member of the SFRY Presidency he would advocate the development of the legal order in order to provide equality, peace, and normal work for everyone. He would particularly advocate that human rights be respected, said Drnovsek. The present crisis situation is a consequence of a type of conduct in the economic, legal, and political fields that has lasted for years. Systemic solutions for resolving problems and occurrences in certain communities were not sought so it is not possible today to correct anything quickly and easily. The patient long-term work of everyone and not just the SFRY Presidency is obviously needed. This applies to Kosovo in particular. All measures were adopted as preventive measures in order to prevent more serious confrontations, said Drnovsek.

Most of the extraordinary measures have been scrapped but, in the opinion of the SFRY Presidency, the uncertain security-political situation in the province requires some temporary measures to continue. It is necessary to consistently respect the Constitution and the law and all the institutions of the system need to work better. The struggle against all types of revanchism is particularly important. The Presidency has decided that it will soon thoroughly analyze the situation in Kosovo and the possibilities for scrapping the extraordinary measures that are still valid, said Drnovsek.

The isolation of people, no matter how many, is a measure which is a heavy burden not only on those who have been isolated but on all of us. As president of the SFRY Presidency, I took the stand that the practice of isolating people should be stopped. The Presidency was informed that the isolation measure applied to only the minimal number of people and it would very soon cease to be applicable even to these.

Pancevski Chairs LCY Central Committee Session
LD1506194289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, at a session presided over by Milan Pancevski, considered a draft report on the activities of the LCY and the work of the LCY Central Committee in the period between the 13th and 14th extraordinary LCY Congress. At the session the report stressed that it is necessary above all to make a critical assessment of the social processes and tendencies between the 13th and 14th extraordinary congress and to assess the role and activity of the central committee in them, in particular the implementation of the orientations, tasks and stands of the 13th LCY Congress, the Central Committee sessions, and the first conference of the LCY. To this end, it was reported, note was made of the major weaknesses in implementing the stands of the 13th LCY Congress and insufficient activity by the LC and the LCY Central Committee in realizing the tasks of the first LCY conference. The processes of democratization in society and the strengthening of a consciousness of reform as a condition for emerging from the crisis were stressed as positive tendencies in the period between the two congresses.

Remarks and suggestions by the LCY Central Committee Presidium will be placed before the LCY Central Committee Commission for preparing the report for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress which will prepare a draft report for the next session of the LCY Central Committee, a communique from the session says.

Commission Urges Amendments to LCY Statute
LD1506193589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1512 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 15 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Statute should be made considerably shorter and more precise, drop many program- and resolution-style options from it and a key-thing is to have changes in it in line with the party's anticipated reforms such as a unanimous conclusion reached by the LCY Statutory Commission here today. The LCY's stand on political pluralism should be stated more precisely and clearly while amending the statute, it was particularly emphasised.

The presidents of the republics' and provinces' party organisations should not become ex officio members from now on of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee, it was also heard. Besides, while changing the statute, one should ponder too, over whether the terms of the president and the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidency should be extended to four years.

In twenty or so days, it was indicated, the LCY Statutory commission is to debate in detail on the statute's concrete provisions which should be changed.

One would say that, anyhow for the time being, there would not come to more sweeping changes in the statute, they being anticipated not earlier than in the period between the LCY's 14th emergency congress next December and the following congress. It would be clarified then how to reform the LCY and, in line with this, how to change its program and statute.

Markovic Receives Delegation of Corinthians
*LD1506193789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1605 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Federal Executive President Ante Markovic today received a delegation of Corinthian Slovenes in Belgrade. The delegation was led by Felix Wieser, president of the Federation of Slovene Organizations in Carinthia, and Mateus Grilc, president of the National Council of Carinthian Slovenes.

Assembly Discusses Government's Economic Policy
*LD1506212589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1822 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Belgrade, June 15 (TANJUG)—Delegates of the Federal Council of the Assembly of Yugoslavia today supported the government's economic policy measures for 1989, which are aimed at introducing market oriented economy and were yesterday set out by Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic. The delegates however, criticized rather much certain parts of the program and assessed that the short-term measures to curb inflation were inadequate.

Delegates requested a more concrete answer on when and how inflation will be curbed and an explicit answer to the question what sacrifices must be made in the struggle against the "financial plague", which reached the annual rate of around 600 percent in late May.

A number of delegates assessed that the federal government viewed the future with too much optimism, that the underdeveloped regions will not even nearly be able to enter the market competition on an equal basis and that the program does not devote enough attention to young, unemployed people.

It was said that the government program of economic reforms does not sufficiently elaborate the social and agrarian policies, but it was noted that it was good that the government was turning toward battling the economic causes of inflation and not the prices "as such." This is [words indistinct] was said, Yugoslavia this year has a positive development of industrial production and foreign currency solvency relative to the preceding period.

The delegates supported the government measures regarding the money crediting policy and noted that the National Bank of Yugoslavia should stop covering the servicing of clearing-account deals.

Attention was drawn to the fact that the liberalization of [word indistinct] is undoubtedly useful in the fields where competition exists, but efficacious solutions are also necessary in what is termed as the monopolistic sectors.

Answering certain remarks voiced during the debate, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council Zivko Pregl explained that the federal government did not oblige itself to [word indistinct] results but was taking measures for certain segments of the economic system which should in the long run curb inflation.

Pregl underscored that the government was not drawing its move by chance—first of all, the country's balance of payment should be secured, and then, by freeing initiative and not by giving inflationary (?monetary) injections, economic growth should be secured.

The government is now trying to establish more normal relations between prices of certain products and services, but so that the market itself should establish such relations.

Pregl said that the Yugoslav economy has for years not functioned upon market principles and that this was why the comprehension that there could now be "too much market" was unrealistic. The government does not aim at securing the same results for all enterprises but at providing equal chances for all on the market whether they come from developed or underdeveloped parts of the country.

Pregl emphasized that the government does not accept the idea that two economic systems be formed on the unified Yugoslav economic area because of the differences in development and it maintains that it is much better to elaborate the position of certain economic subjects than that of the territorial [word indistinct].

Pregl warned that a shift to market-oriented economy will not be successful unless possibilities are created for the setting up of enterprises along with the simultaneous closing of unprofitable programs, for which there is no room on the market.

In the field of social welfare policy, the government is of the opinion that the federation should not have many obligations since it is better that these problems be resolved in the communes or republics, Pregl concluded.

The Federal Council of the Assembly of Yugoslavia today adopted a law on accounting under a summary procedure. This law is extremely important since it creates conditions for economic operations in market conditions and simplifies the system of settling of accounts and book-accounting to a large extent.

Federal Chamber Discusses Economy, Other Issues

Supports 1989 Economic Policy

LD1506204789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1038 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Delegates of the [SFRY Assembly] Federal Chamber today supported measures of the economic policy for this year, which the government proposed and which FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic explained yesterday. They also criticized certain parts of the program and assessed that, above all, the short-term measures for curbing the inflation were insufficient.

Today, the Federal Chamber adopted an emergency law on accountancy, which creates the conditions under which enterprises will draw up 6-monthly accounts in accordance with a new model which prescribes mandatory reevaluation only of business assets; reevaluation of all other assets will be negotiable between business partners. [passage omitted]

Replying to criticisms expressed in the debate, FEC Vice President Zivko Pregl reiterated the federal government's stand that the program of measures is not a complete "package." It is more of a review, he explained, than a program of measures. Life will impose new demands, and we have no illusions that everything can be planned to the full.

The document being discussed is not a resolution. It should be also noted that delegates in the SFRY Assembly decide on many important individual issues and measures which are in the document.

Rejecting criticisms that it had been a mistake not to establish a special anti-inflation program, Pregl noted that former governments had opted many anti-inflation measures and programs, and that "complete works" could be compiled out of them. And they achieved little. The FEC is not promising quick results, but it proposes measures aimed at certain areas of the economic system and which should have anti-inflationary effects.

The order of our moves is not accidental. Firstly, Pregl continued, it is necessary to ensure the country's balance of payments, and then its economic growth by freeing initiative and not by inflationary monetary injections. We are trying to set more normal prices for certain products and services, but we want this to be achieved through the market. We also wanted, by means of the measures undertaken, to convince both the economy and the population that we have no intention of abandoning implementation of the market concept. Besides, Pregl noted, personal incomes have not decreased in real terms this year.

We believe that a good basis for the implementation of anti-inflationary measures has been created, and, for that reason, our orientation is toward appropriate

changes in the financial system and "trimming" of the budget. Proposals regarding the fiscal system should be finished soon. The reverse order of moves would be fatal for the entire economy.

The Yugoslav economy has not been conducted on market principles for years, so there is no need to fear "too much market." Our aim is not to ensure the same results for all enterprises, but to give everyone equal opportunities on the market, regardless of whether enterprises are located in developed or undeveloped parts of the country. The adopted program also envisions measures for the undeveloped regions, Pregl stressed, and recalled that the federation has clearly defined its obligations toward the undeveloped. The FEC rejects the idea that two economic systems have been formed in Yugoslavia as a result of differences in development. It is better to look at the status of individual economic subjects, rather than sociopolitical communities, Pregl stressed.

Reviewing the delegates' assessments that the program of measures does not deal sufficiently with unemployment, the FEC vice president warned that the transition to the market system of economic activity will not be successful, unless conditions are created for opening new enterprises at the same time as "extinguishing" unprofitable enterprises, which have no place in the market. In the area of social policy, the federation, according to him, should not have many obligations. It would be better if these problems are resolved in the municipalities or republics. Regarding the payment of personal incomes, we have given priority to guaranteed incomes, and we are prepared to cede [word indistinct] for these purposes, if other sociopolitical communities do the same, Pregl said.

A summary of today's discussion at the Federal Chamber session will be submitted to all delegates and to the FEC, so that it can be of help to the FEC in the further development of certain solutions regarding economic policy. [passage omitted]

Bans New Nuclear Plants

LD1506104689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0929 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jun (TANJUG)—Delegates to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today adopted a proposed law banning the construction of nuclear power plants in Yugoslavia. The law bans the construction of nuclear power plants and of installations for producing and processing nuclear waste. The ban also covers the adoption of any investment decisions, the drawing up of investment programs and technical documentation for constructing nuclear power plants and for installations for producing and processing nuclear fuel.

A proposal by the Federal Executive Council for the ban to be in force only until the year 2000 was not accepted.

Economic Relations Secretary Horvat Visits GDR
AU1506143389 Belgrade POITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
13 Jun 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Stoph Receives Horvat"]

[Text] Berlin, 12 May—Today chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Willy Stoph, received Franc Horvat, federal secretary for economic relations with other countries, who is visiting the GDR. The two sides expressed the wish to improve economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the GDR, particularly the higher forms of cooperation.

Today, Horvat also held talks with the heads of economic departments in the government and other GDR officials about the ways of improving economic relations.

The value of trade should exceed \$1 billion this year. Yugoslavia's balance of payments surplus of \$400 million a year represents a limiting factor in achieving this aim.

Maksic on Relations With Neighbor Countries
LD1506202189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1542 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Belgrade, June 15 (TANJUG)—Bilateral contacts are the best way to resolve problems of the position of Yugoslav minorities in neighboring countries, Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Secretary Milivoje Maksic said in Belgrade today.

Answering a number of questions of the Yugoslav Parliament Assembly delegates, Maksic said that the "complex task" of resolving these problems is part of the overall development of relations with each neighboring country "and that is why we have to be realistic in our assessments. There is no magic wand."

Maksic said that the Greek ambassador to Yugoslavia has received a demarche because the folklore group Kosta Abrasevic of Skoplje had to return from Greece without holding its concert because the organizer failed to secure the permit from the competent authorities in Athens.

Good-neighborly relations demand a lot more mutual elasticity in resolving these questions, Maksic underscored.

Maksic further explained that a meeting of the Yugoslav and Romanian deputy foreign ministers which is to focus on the position of Yugoslav minorities in Romania has not taken place so far since the two countries' heads of state, Raif Dizdarevic and Nicolae Ceausescu, met this spring. The two leaders also failed to publish a joint statement since the two sides' stands on the issue differ, Maksic added.

Maksic, however, noted that this does not mean that consultations at the level of deputy foreign ministers will not be held when conditions are ripe.

Maksic explained that there were talks about the possibility of the visit of the Yugoslav foreign secretary to Tirana. The Yugoslav foreign secretary would have then presented to Albania a pro memoria on the position of Yugoslav minorities in Albania. The visit, however, has not taken place because of the two countries' current relations, Maksic emphasized.

Bosnia Nominates Five for Federal Presidency
AU1506142389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
13 Jun 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Fourth Round of Voting Produces Five Candidates"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Jun—At their session today, the delegates of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Bosnia-Herzegovina elected, by secret ballot from a list of 22, five persons to run as candidates for a single place in the SFRY Presidency (Milan Popovic withdrew at the last minute). In the referendum scheduled for 25 June, the working people and citizens will elect the first among the equal and give him the "visa" for election to this high post. He will be elected by the Bosnian Assembly on 25 July. The candidates are Marko Ceranic, Dragan Kalinic, Bogic Bogicevic, Zivko Radisic, and Nedjo Milicevic.

These five candidates, whose names will appear on ballots in the forthcoming referendum, were not elected in a single heat. In the first round of voting only three candidates received the necessary majority of over 50 percent of the votes from the 186 delegates present: Marko Ceranic received 143 votes, Dragan Kalinic received 106 votes, and Bogic Bogicevic received 97 votes. Others did not receive the necessary minimum of 94 votes.

In the second round Zivko Radisic secured his place among the "five" by receiving 125 votes.

In the third round of voting 164 delegates took part (20 fewer than in the first two rounds). Two ballots were invalid. None of the 18 candidates received the necessary majority. Therefore the Election Commission decided that only the four candidates who received the most votes in the third round would enter the next round of voting. These were Nedjo Milicevic, Ugljesa Uzelac, Borivoje Pistalo, and Momir Macanovic. The delegates accepted this decision.

The voting followed. It was established that Nedjo Milicevic had received the greatest number of votes and that he had become the fifth candidate for membership in the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that his name will appear on ballots in the referendum scheduled for 25 June.

'Solidarity Fund' Founder Bogavac Interviewed
AU1506101389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Jun 89 p 13

[Interview with Dusan Bogavac, founder of the Solidarity Fund, by Sasa Leskovac: "'Communists' Do Not Like Me"—reprinted from Sarajevo VALTER magazine; date not given]

[Text] [Leskovac] Prevented from writing in your newspaper, you are now turning toward alternative political activity in the Solidarity Fund, which has received a great response from the very beginning and not just from the intellectuals in the population.

[Bogavac] There would not have been a Solidarity Fund without the "what should be done" project around which I managed to gather more than 40 Yugoslav, mainly party intellectuals, in the search for a way out of the crisis. We wanted to show through this action that Yugoslavia is our homeland, too, and not just the homeland of the members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists. We also have the right to be concerned about its destiny and to suggest ways out of the crisis. Their main argument, believe it or not, was: How can someone outside the party ask the question about what should be done? It simply did not occur to them that there is something that the party does not know and that the party cannot do, said Dusan Bogavac in an interview for VALTER.

[Leskovac] How successful was this action?

[Bogavac] It was in 1983 when not only the word "crisis" was not permitted, but one could only talk about "difficulties," and only about "certain economic" ones and not political difficulties. All this seemed so stupid because at that time the state found itself in the jaws of Western capital to which it fell into debt. You remember those nighttime sessions when we fell on our knees and agreed to the IMF's conditions, when we were threatened with the confiscation of embassy buildings and ships and planes. It was most important at that time to start speaking about the real situation and the seriousness of the crisis, to point out the causes, and open up dialogue on what should be done. It was not our ambition to give recipes but to provoke and stimulate potential in finding a way out of the crisis.

However, there is one misconception under which we—me, as the initiator of the action and those who participated in it—lived, and that is that it is possible to correct socialism, that a system that was otherwise good was only being badly implemented.

[Leskovac] The core of the Solidarity Fund is being created on the basis of this action.

[Bogavac] At the time, we in Yugoslavia still had some small critical groups, alternative youth organizations, but all these were either under the auspices of sociopolitical organizations or some professional associations (of philosophers, writers, and so on), and were regularly attached to a city or even republican Socialist Alliance of Working People, but never outside these borders. Then the Fund appeared as an all-Yugoslav organization with about 750 journalists, writers, workers, and scientists. We have most members in the Fund's branches in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. We broke through all social, national, and professional barriers. The aim was above all humane, it was to morally and materially help those people whose existence had been threatened because they had thought differently or had taken part in democratic activity. For an intolerant regime this was opposition activity from the very beginning, because "by golly," it was protecting those people that the regime had alienated and removed. All later established critical groups, alternative movements, and associations contained a number of members of the Solidarity Fund. The Fund, therefore, does not prevent the person from joining other organizations, from being autonomous. Someone belongs to the Fund above all because they are autonomous and think in an autonomous way.

[Leskovac] What does the initiative for creating a "Yugoslav Opposition Coalition" consist of, which you promoted on behalf of the Solidarity Fund first in Ljubljana, at the founding meeting of the Social Democratic Alliance of Slovenia, and recently in Sarajevo, when forming Yugoslav coordination of institutions for the protection of human rights?

[Bogavac] The basic plan was for an established counterweight to appear as soon as possible on the Yugoslav political scene in opposition to the monopolistic, state-party hierarchy, which would to a certain extent limit the hierarchy's present omnipotence. A Yugoslav opposition coalition could arise without any great preparations or special effort, through simple linkages and closer cooperation between the already existing critical and opposition groups; alternative and other independent movements, associations, and alliances; worker and other strike committees and coordination; and different democratic bastions like Mosevac and Vevcani, as well as the numerous individuals who have independent and democratic opinions.

BORBA Interviews Dissident Milovan Djilas
AU0606151789

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian in its issues 25 May through 2 June carries a 20,000-word interview with Milovan Djilas, former prominent Yugoslav leader disgraced in 1954, by Momcilo Djorgovic, in eight installments under the general heading "Milovan Djilas Today: About Himself, His Rises and Falls, His Ideas and Errors." The installments are always carried on page six, except in the weekend issue 27-28 May when the third installment is carried on page 17.

Djilas answers questions about his political activities while in power, his ideas that brought his downfall, and his experiences while in disgrace and in prison. He is not asked about, and does not advance any views on current events.

The first installment on 25 May is accompanied by the following "Editor's Note":

"Discussions about rehabilitations are an inevitable integral part of the process of our society's democratization that has begun. Therefore many were not exceedingly surprised when People's Hero Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo publicly said that one should see whether there are any reasons to rehabilitate Milovan Djilas and Aleksandar Rankovic. His statement quite certainly increased the curiosity among the young generations in seeking an answer to the question what the sins of Milovan Djilas and Aleksandar Rankovic were that caused their falls.

"In connection with the public musings that have started on these questions broached by Tempo, one should point out the possible pitfalls of the two extremes: first, that the rehabilitations and their discussions are excessively linked to the requirements of daily politics and that they are pulled out of their historical context; and second, that one loses sight of the fact that only time can be the supreme judge over both the official policy and its opponents. Carrying articles on Djilas, and his interview starting today, BORBA only wishes to present facts so as to help to avoid the two extremes; so that certain situations and personalities should not be rehabilitated only because it would suit somebody at present, even when historical facts do not justify it, or so that, as in Djilas' case, the internal and external (cold war) situation of the time in which the split occurred should not be neglected. Anyhow, time has added something to and subtracted something from Djilas' ideas and steps.

"BORBA has no ambition to rehabilitate anybody and could not have had it because it believes that this is not something the press should do. BORBA has a critical attitude toward some Djilas' views at the time when he was expelled from the LCY Central Committee, and especially toward Djilas' "post-heretical" period. Therefore in interviewing Djilas, BORBA was chiefly interested in what the cause was of his downfall, what conditioned it and what preceded it. This will provide useful food for thought for the generations of young readers of BORBA to judge a time which because of their youth they do not remember. Of course, what is important is to remark that this is a matter of Djilas' personal views and description of events and the people with whom he politically parted. His present views must therefore be approached in the same way as any personal view of events and people."

The same editorial note is repeated with the fourth installment on 29 May.

BORBA on 3-4 June on page 12 carries the following note entitled "Call to Dialogue: In Conclusion of Milovan Djilas Interview: For a Rehabilitation of Truth":

"BORBA has carried an interview with Milovan Djilas in several installments. It has done it fully aware that his statements and explanations, and even his mere appearance in the mass media, will cause various reactions. But as BORBA previously stressed, it had no intention itself to rehabilitate Milovan Djilas or anybody else.

"More than 30 years have passed since the 'Djilas Case.' The present process of democratization in society brings an inevitable reinterpretation and reassessment of historical events and facts, and therefore of some events of the early 1950's. This is particularly easy to comprehend because this is the period after which the records are open and many documents see the light of the day which in some cases may throw an additional light to certain events and circumstances.

"BORBA believes that even the 'Djilas Case' may be viewed consistently critically and objectively from a distance of 30 years, without making it serve a specific purpose [bez funkcionalizacije]. Therefore it has opened its pages for a discussion of what happened 3 decades ago, and in the coming days it will publish the testimony of other actors in the third plenum of 1954. BORBA is also open to all those who have anything relevant to say in connection with Djilas' views and assessments of that time and the present.

"BORBA has no ambition to rehabilitate any persons or periods. What BORBA wants is to 'rehabilitate' public critical dialogue on questions about which one has known too little or one has kept silent until now for various reasons."

Poll on Anti-Inflationary Measures Published AU0106113589

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatia on 22 May on page 7 publishes an approximately 2,000-word article on the results of a poll carried out by BORBA's public opinion research center. The research center polled 120 people who were randomly selected from the telephone directories, "five from three big cities of each republic plus another five from the rest of each republic."

The poll was concerned with only one question: "What are the most effective measures to curb inflation?"

The poll was carried out by six researchers, one from each republic.

The following tables show the results of the poll:

Table 1. "What are the most effective measures to curb inflation?"

(according to republic)

Bosnia-Herzegovina [figures as published]	percent
1. Give full freedom to private enterprise	26.85
2. Introduce dismissal from work	14.25
3. Let republics resolve the causes of inflation	12.20
4. Ensure general and full employment	7.40
5. Freeze prices and incomes	7.40
6. Replace all political leaderships and management	4.90
7. Change the face value [denominacija] of the dinar	4.90
8. Introduce general price freeze	2.55
9. Centralize decisionmaking in politics and the economy	2.45
10. Carry out general expropriation of private property	0
11. Introduce policy of high personal incomes	0
12. Raise a new loan to restructure the economy	0
13. Something else	4.90
Macedonia	percent
1. Centralize decisionmaking in politics and the economy	26
2. Introduce dismissal from work	23
3. Give full freedom to private enterprise	13
4. Freeze prices and incomes	12
5. Carry out general expropriation of private property	12
6. Raise a new loan to restructure the economy	4
7. Introduce general price freeze	4
8. change the face value of the dinar	2
9. Replace all political leaderships and management	2
10. Let republics resolve the causes of inflation	0
11. Introduce policy of high personal incomes	0
12. Ensure general and full employment	0
13. Something else	2
Slovenia	percent
1. Give full freedom to private enterprise	24.40
2. Let republics resolve the causes of inflation	14.20
3. Introduce dismissal from work	14.20
4. Ensure general and full employment	8.20
5. Introduce general price freeze	7.10
6. Replace all political leaderships and management	7
7. Raise a new loan to restructure the economy	6.20
8. Freeze prices and incomes	4.10
9. Change the face value of the dinar	2.10
10. Centralize decisionmaking in politics and the economy	2.10
11. Introduce policy of high personal incomes	2.10
12. Carry out general expropriation of private property	2.10
13. Something else	6.20
Serbia	percent
1. Give full freedom to private enterprise	35.20

2. Introduce dismissal from work	21.95
3. Ensure general and full employment	9.30
4. Introduce policy of high personal incomes	9.30
5. Let republics resolve the causes of inflation	6.95
6. Denominate the dinar	4.65
7. Centralize decisionmaking in politics and the economy	4.65
8. Raise a new loan to restructure the economy	4.65
9. Freeze prices and incomes	3.35
10. Introduce general price freeze	0
11. Replace all political leaderships and management	0
12. Carry out general expropriation of private property	0
13. Something else	0
Croatia	percent
1. Introduce dismissal from work	16
2. Give full freedom to private enterprise	13
3. Centralize decisionmaking in politics and the economy	12
4. Change the face value of the dinar	11
5. Ensure general and full employment	8
6. Introduce policy of high personal incomes	8
7. Replace all political leaderships and management	6
8. Raise a new loan to restructure the economy	6
9. Introduce general price freeze	4
10. Carry out general expropriation of private property	4
11. Freeze prices and incomes	4
12. Let republics resolve the causes of inflation	4
13. Something else	4
Montenegro	percent
1. Give full freedom to private enterprise	21
2. Centralize decisionmaking in politics and the economy	17
3. Introduce dismissal from work	12
4. Ensure general and full employment	8
5. Introduce general price freeze	8
6. change the face value of the dinar	8
7. Carry out general expropriation of private property	6
8. Replace all political leaderships and management	6
9. Let republics resolve the causes of inflation	4
10. Freeze prices and incomes	4
11. Raise a new loan to restructure the economy	4
12. Introduce policy of high personal incomes	0
13. Something else	2

Table 2. "What are the most effective measures to curb inflation?"

(country as a whole)

SFRY	percent
1. Give full freedom to private enterprise	22.20
2. Introduce dismissal from work	15.60
3. Centralize decisionmaking in politics and the economy	14.60

4. Let republics resolve the causes of inflation	6.80
5. Ensure general and full employment	6.70
6. Freeze prices and incomes	5.70
7. Change the face value of the dinar	5.40
8. Replace all political leaderships and management	4.30
9. Introduce general price freeze	4.30
10. Carry out general expropriation of private property	4.10
11. Raise a new loan to restructure the economy	4.10
12. Introduce policy of high personal incomes	3.10
13. Something else	3.10

7. Conclude business deals on the basis of joint investments	8.5
8. Introduce and expand "loan" businesses [not further explained]	5.4
9. Intensify arms exports	5.4
10. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held abroad	4.6
11. Export labor force	3.7
12. Float internal debts	2.5
13. Reduce imports at any price	2.5
14. Purchase cheap technology	0
15. Increase exports	0
16. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held in SFRY	0
17. Raise new foreign loans	0

Table 3. "What are the most effective measures to curb inflation according to communists?"

SFRY	percent
1. Freeze prices and incomes	20
2. Introduce dismissal from work	14
3. Ensure general and full employment	12.2
4. Centralize decisionmaking in politics and the economy	12.3
5. Change the face value of the dinar	11.5
6. Give full freedom to private enterprise	11.5
7. Introduce policy of high personal incomes	5.3
8. Carry out general expropriation of private property	3.8
9. Let republics resolve the causes of inflation	2.6
10. Introduce general price freeze	2.5
11. Replace all political leaderships and management	2.2
12. Raise a new loan to restructure the economy	0.1
13. Something else	2

BORBA Poll on Restructuring of Economy AU1106184589

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 5 June on page 6 publishes an approximately 3,000-word report on the results of an opinion poll carried out by BORBA's public opinion research center on the "Measures Needed To Restructure Yugoslavia's Economy and Find A Way Out of Crisis."

BORBA does not provide any information concerning the type of the poll or the size of the sample, nor does it provide the heading of the first table.

The following tables show the results of the poll:

Table 1.

Bosnia-Herzegovina	percent
1. Develop small businesses sector and free private initiative	14.9
2. Sell off unprofitable socially owned firms	13.3
3. Set up mixed enterprises	12.3
4. Grant franchise	9.2
5. Set up joint stock companies	9.2
6. Float national loan	8.5

Macedonia [figures as published]	percent
1. Conclude business deals on the basis of joint investments	23.5
2. Develop small businesses sector and free private initiative	16.02
3. Introduce and expand "loan" businesses	12.05
4. Grant franchise	9.45
5. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held abroad	9.45
6. Set up mixed enterprises	9.45
7. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held in SFRY	5.05
8. Float internal debts	5.05
9. Sell off unprofitable socially owned firms	5.04
10. Reduce imports	2.07
11. Increase exports	2.07
12. Purchase cheap technology	1.35
13. Set up joint stock companies	0
14. Raise new foreign loans	0
15. Float national loan	0
16. Intensify arms exports	0
17. Export labor force	0

Slovenia [figures as published]	percent
1. Develop small businesses sector and free private initiative	30.43
2. Conclude business deals on the basis of joint investments	21.74
3. Set up joint stock companies	11.87
4. Increase exports at any price	8.70
5. Set up mixed enterprises	6.35
6. Grant franchise	6.52
7. Float internal debts	6.52
8. Reduce imports at any price	4.35
9. Introduce and expand "loan" businesses	2.17
10. Sell off unprofitable socially owned firms	2.17
11. Purchase cheap technology	0
12. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held abroad	0
13. Raise new foreign loans	0
14. Float national loan	0
15. Intensify arms exports	0
16. Export labor force	0
17. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held in SFRY	0

Serbia	percent
1. Conclude business deals on the basis of joint investments	13.04
2. Float national loan	13.04
3. Grant franchise	13.04
4. Develop small businesses sector and free private initiative	13.04
5. Set up mixed enterprises	10.04
6. Float internal debts	10.14
7. Set up joint stock companies	7.03
8. Sell off unprofitable socially owned firms	7.03
9. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held abroad	4.34
10. Export work force	3.09
11. Intensify arms exports	3.07
12. Increase exports at any price	2.05
13. Introduce and expand "loan" businesses	1.05
14. Raise new foreign loans	0
15. Purchase cheap technology	0
16. Reduce imports at any price	0
17. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held in SFRY	0

Croatia [figures as published]	percent
1. Develop small businesses sector and free private initiative	12.65
2. Sell off unprofitable firms	12.65
3. Conclude business deals on the basis of joint investments	12.02
4. Set up mixed enterprises	11.39
5. Grant franchise	10.75
6. Set up joint stock companies	10.12
7. Float national loan	8.22
8. Raise new loans	6.06
9. Float internal debts	6.06
10. Intensify arms exports	5.06
11. Introduce and expand "loan" businesses	4.79
12. Increase exports at any price	4.16
13. Export labor force	2.53
14. Reduce imports at any price	1.89
15. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held in SFRY	0.65
16. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held abroad	0
17. Purchase cheap technology	0

Montenegro [figures as published]	percent
1. Float national loan	21
2. Develop small businesses sector and free private initiative	15
3. Increase exports	13
4. Set up mixed enterprises	9
5. Sell off unprofitable socially owned firms	7
6. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held abroad	2
7. Grant franchise	6
8. Conclude business deals on the basis of joint investments	6
9. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held in SFRY	4
10. Introduce and expand "loan" businesses	3
11. Set up joint stock companies	3
12. Intensify arms exports	3
13. Raise new foreign loans	1
14. Reduce imports at any price	1
15. Float internal debts	1
16. Purchase cheap technology	0
17. Export labor force	0

Table 2. "Yugoslavia's Measures"

	percent
1. Develop small businesses sector and free private initiative	16.8
2. Conclude business deals on the basis of joint investments	14.5
3. Set up mixed enterprises	9.6
4. Grant franchise	9.1
5. Float national loan	8.4
6. Sell off unprofitable socially owned firms	7.8
7. Set up joint stock companies	6.8
8. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held abroad	5.2
9. Float internal debts	5.2
10. Increase exports	5
11. Introduce and expand "loan" businesses	3.7
12. Intensify arms exports	2.7
13. Reduce imports at any price	1.9
14. Confiscate privately owned foreign currency held in SFRY	1.6
15. Raise new foreign loans	1.1
16. Export labor force	0.4
17. Purchase cheap technology	0.2